

The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, AUGUST 29, 1878.

The Week.

A CONFERENCE, composed of a number of gentlemen calling themselves "Administration Republicans" or "Hayes Republicans," has been held at Saratoga, with the view of urging the State Committee to call the usual nominating convention this fall, which Mr. Conkling had, we believe, forbidden for purposes of his own. A resolution was accordingly passed asking the State Committee to summon the convention "to wisely and temperately consider all the differences of opinion in the party, and adopt such resolutions and measures as will rally its entire vote to the support of its candidate." It was at first supposed that the conference met to organize opposition to Mr. Conkling's re-election, but this purpose the members denied, and no mention, it is said, was made of him or his fortunes during the proceedings. In fact, the object of the meeting is said by its supporters to be simply the promotion of "harmony in the party." It is, however, harmony that gives Mr. Conkling his great advantage over his enemies; or, to speak more correctly, the love of his enemies for harmony enables him always to have his own way. He himself does not care one straw for harmony; he never hesitates to show his contempt for it, and when he shows it, it always frightens his opponents. Every now and then he calls them names and kicks them, and they grow for a minute or two quite red in the face, and seem disposed to resent it, but suddenly recollecting that if they resent it they will destroy the "harmony in the party," they simply rub the part, smile a sickly smile, and go home murmuring, "Harmony, harmony." He now shows his disregard of them by announcing that the State Committee had intended to hold the convention long before the conference met. At the convention there will probably be again some "embittering of sentiment," but we hope it will not all end, as the last one ended, by calling a meeting to eulogize Conkling and his supporters.

A party calling itself "Young Republicans," and composed, we suppose, mainly of the younger men, has been organized in Massachusetts, about the strength of which we suppose little is known, but we presume from the emphasis with which its friends in the Boston press dwell on its "earnestness" and "modesty," and the absence of "applause" and "lofty eloquence" from the meeting, that it is not strong in numbers. It did draw up, however, and adopt an excellent programme and arrange an apparently excellent working organization. The programme calls for redemption of Government notes in gold; the exclusion of office-holders from party management, and Congressmen from control of patronage; takes a serious view of the magnitude of the task of reforming the civil service; condemns attempts to excite sectional hate and distrust; disapproves of all subsidies to business enterprises, and calls for a revision of the State tax laws; and pledges the Convention to a thorough canvass of the State in support of its views.

It is difficult to say what amount of success Butler's canvass for the Massachusetts governorship is likely to meet with, both parties being uncertain as to the exact amount of impression made on their ranks by the Greenback and Labor movement. But there appears to be no doubt that the advent of Kearney and his incautious fraternization with him has greatly damaged the General and probably ruined him with the Republicans, who have very few persons among them who appreciate the plan of "pooling issues" and handing the Government over to the ignorant and cursing portion of the community. Kearney appears to have no programme beyond the hanging of capitalists; but Butler's, as well as can be made out from his

New Haven speech, is the payment of the national debt in greenbacks issued for the purpose, and then the "letting the greenbacks go out," like the Continental money of the forefathers. What he would do next does not clearly appear. It is said that his keeping a yacht has so severely weakened the effects of his denunciations of the young coaching men that he has handed her over to his son or some relative to keep till after the election, so that the old patriot will be able "to go before the people" without exposing himself to the charge of inconsistency. One good word must be said for him. He did, as he asserts, advocate repudiation as early as 1869, while he was still in good and regular standing in the party; but no notice was taken of it, in the belief that he would still be very useful in "taking care of Ben Hill."

Senator Thurman's dishonorable desertion from the party of honest money has furnished Secretary Sherman an opportunity to make a public appearance on the side of virtue. His speech to a large Republican gathering at Toledo on Monday night was at most points a satisfactory confutation of Thurman's arguments, but, in the nature of the case, there could from this quarter be no reproaches for tergiversation, and the moral of the Democratic statesman's fall went therefore unpunished. No one knows better than Mr. Sherman how to be foggy when it is not convenient to be clear, and in all his allusions to silver there was a want of candor which sometimes amounted to a perversion of notorious facts. For instance, while the trade-dollar is being refused by the banks of Ohio and Indiana, amid a great popular outcry, and in spite of its being intrinsically worth more than the new legal tender, Mr. Sherman alleges that "four months before the time fixed [for resumption] silver and gold and paper are almost on a par with each other." Yet, speaking of the new silver dollar, he had previously admitted that it was "worth less in the market than the gold or even the paper dollar, and if issued without limit" would "surely depreciate below the gold dollar and become the standard of value." He did not indicate this limit, but allowed any one to infer that the issue might exceed the wants of importers without depreciation. As a bi-metallist he held that both metals can circulate at par with each other, and pointed out the only two ways in which this can happen, namely: by limiting the silver issue, on some principle not stated, or by enlarging the silver coin or diminishing the gold. In default of this, and if the Paris Conference arrives at no practical result, "we shall have to adopt the single standard of silver, like the Chinese and other Asiatic nations."

Mr. Hewitt's Committee has during the past week been examining some of the Sane as to the causes of the existing depression, including Professor Sumner, Mr. Horace White, and Mr. C. F. Adams, Jr. But we cannot help considering that this is a waste of the time of the Committee. The gentlemen we have named tell the Committee nothing which they do not or cannot communicate to the public through the press in the form of lectures and articles, and much of what they say, however interesting or instructive, is open, like all economical theories, to dispute, and is disputed. What the Committee ought to do for us is give us first the ideas of the agitating discontented workingmen, or working-class agitators, and this they have done at some but not too great length; and next the facts of the situation in the various branches of industry, without any intermixture of opinion. We doubt very much whether anything can be done towards the solution of the labor problem more useful than the examination by a person like Mr. Hewitt of the crazy fellows who do the talking of the labor movement.

The testimony of Major Burke before the Potter Committee last week was more satisfactory than that of any previous witness. It

was an unembarrassed, frank, and apparently honest statement of what Major Burke knew of the actual course of things in Washington during the electoral count. There is no reason for further doubt that the policy of filibustering in the House was used as an empty threat to extort from Messrs. Garfield, Sherman, and other leaders on the Republican side as definite a pledge of non-intervention in Southern affairs as their regard for "the dignity and prudence of senators" would allow them to give. In respect to the President, it is clear that his pacific views were announced by authority, but it is not believed that any representation of probable difficulties in the count or any guarantees of good conduct given by Southerners contributed in the least to the formation of these views or to the determination to make them the basis of an actual policy. At the most their disclosure at such a time and to such persons was dictated by a desire to remove all unfounded fears which might hinder a peaceable conclusion of the count, and in this there was no impropriety. The efforts of the Southerners, as Major Burke reveals them, were directed not toward binding the President, but his probable influential advisers, such as Messrs. Sherman and Garfield, who, it was feared, would impede and possibly checkmate the President's good intentions. These men were already on record as believing that the election, after personal examination of its history on the spot, was carried by violence and fraud for the Democratic party, and the Southerners desired some assurance that such belief would not operate to unseat the *de facto* governments in South Carolina and Louisiana. Such satisfactory communications they got, although the color of direct bargaining was escaped, and the conditions were executed on both sides. It would be interesting to know what frame of mind is induced in the Ohio statesmen by this declaration of Major Burke, that the threat of filibustering was meaningless and could not have been carried out, so that it is clear that they were tricked into committing themselves to a questionable intrigue, by which their own action was undoubtedly modified, if not reversed, in return for the removal of an empty danger.

Mr. Manton Marble's letter on the Florida electoral count, however valuable it may have been as a testimony to Mr. Tilden's heroic attitude during the crisis, has had the unfortunate result of producing the publication by the *Tribune* of divers telegrams sent by Mr. Marble himself from the scene of action to his aids and supporters in various parts of the country. They are all, or nearly all, in some kind of cipher, and may be harmless as "the chops and tomato sauce" of Mr. Pickwick's note, but somehow there is a strong and ineffaceable impression that the Democratic Visiting Statesmen who went down there were not, any more than the Republican, engaged in urging the local politicians to engage vigorously in the practice of virtue, so that Mr. Marble's telegrams are generally received as covering some new, though doubtless brilliant, species of wickedness. They have led to the republication of the celebrated telegrams from Gramercy Park about the arranging for the purchase of an Oregon elector for a sum which was to be "incredible" if necessary.

Harper's Weekly publishes, as a striking contrast to this, Mr. Hayes's letter of about the same date requesting his friends not to meet Tilden's "violence, intimidation, or fraud by any means that would not bear the strictest scrutiny." Unfortunately, the friends "kept never minding him," and were not troubling their heads about "scrutiny" at all. In fact, the friends of the candidates on both sides seem to have been thoroughly practical men, who postponed the contemplation of the count as a moral phenomenon until after they had finished it, though both doubtless groaned in spirit over the things they had to do to counteract the sinful games of the other fellows. The hesitation of the pure-minded Dennis of Florida as to which was the trickier, and his half-formed determination to punish the Republicans by giving the Presidency to Mr. Tilden, shows how hard it was even for an experienced casuist to distinguish between them.

There has been a very full hearing in Kimpton's case before the attorney-general of Massachusetts, the principal counsel on either side being the present and the ex-attorney-general of South Carolina, Mr. Youmans and Mr. Chamberlain. Mr. Youmans's forensic oratory is of a kind that has not been heard in Massachusetts for many years, not so much because it is Southern as because it marks a period as remote from us as Webster and Benton. He insisted on the imperative character of the Constitutional provision in regard to extradition, and, since there could be no question that Governor Hampton's requisition was formally perfect, he argued that the Governor of Massachusetts had no discretion but to comply with it. In reply to the consideration urged by the other side as a proof of bad faith, that the State really wanted to get hold of Kimpton in order to extort testimony from him that would enable it to repudiate certain of its bonds alleged to be fraudulent, Mr. Youmans showed that the date of requisition-warrants for Kimpton, asked and obtained of the governors of New York and Connecticut last fall, was prior to the appointment of the Bond Commission out of whose report grew the suits in which Kimpton's testimony is considered so important. This point would certainly have had greater weight but for the admission that Kimpton, both before his arrest and after it, had been promised immunity from all suits if he would voluntarily return to South Carolina to testify. Mr. Chamberlain's argument was mainly directed to establishing gubernatorial discretion, and that he succeeded in doing this we think there can be no doubt; but that he furnished any good reason for the exercise of it in Kimpton's behalf we do not perceive. As Attorney-General Train, too, is a good lawyer, the citing, by junior counsel, of Judge Humphreys's ridiculous decision which saved Patterson from extradition must have been an injury to Kimpton instead of a help. Governor Rice has reserved his decision.

The ravages of the yellow fever at the South continue, and the worst does not seem to have been yet reached. At New Orleans new districts are infected, and the number of new cases each day steadily increases; at Vicksburg and Memphis unfavorable weather and the bad sanitary condition of the cities have induced a rapid spread of the disease, and all who have means to do so have fled the country, while at Grenada the story of destitution, misery, and death goes on to the end. A few sporadic cases have appeared here and there in several cities, but, with the exception of a few small villages, no new places have been attacked and there is no further fear. Liberal contributions from the whole country have been sent to the relief organizations, and particularly to the Howard Association, which has the most knowledge of the requirements and the best means of meeting them. Already public interest in the matter as a spreading danger has nearly ceased, and with the first frosts and the return of the inhabitants to the deserted districts doubtless forgetfulness will settle down over the whole community until popular municipal economy in sanitary measures and the neglect and indolence of boards of health will again conspire with an unfavorable season, and the train be laid which the chance arrival of some trader from an infected island will kindle into a blaze of pestilence and wretchedness such as we now see; then the wealth of better-regulated cities will again be called on to contribute for the relief of suffering which local taxation and ordinary vigilance would have been entirely able to prevent.

The Treasury sold enough 4 per cent. bonds during the week to furnish the money with which to redeem another \$5,000,000 of 5-20 6 per cents. Since May 1 \$70,000,000 of 5-20's have thus been called in for redemption, and the annual interest on this amount of the public debt has been reduced 2 per cent. The advance last week in sterling exchange to the specie-shipping point proved to be of very short duration, and rates are back again to the point where there is no profit either in exporting or importing gold coin. This downward turn is explained by the increase in grain exports and the decrease in the United States bond imports. At the Stock Exchange the week has been uneventful. Silver ruled in London at 52*½*d. to

52½d. per oz. The bullion value of the 412½-grain silver dollar at the close of the week was \$0.8855 gold.

The elections for the Hungarian Parliament have been looked for with some anxiety as not unlikely to result in a condemnation of the annexation of Bosnia and Montenegro; but the Government has obtained a heavy majority, and M. Tisza, the Prime Minister, who was defeated in his old constituency, Dehecczin, has been elected by several other counties and towns, and has chosen Sepsiszent. In Hungary, as in France and England, a leading man cannot be kept out of public life because he does not happen to please the electors or caucus of one district. The Magyars are evidently, with their usual political sense, reconciling themselves to the new situation. The *Pesther Lloyd*, which is M. Tisza's organ, declares that after what has occurred in Bosnia the annexation of the two provinces to the Austro-Hungarian monarchy "has become absolutely necessary for the maintenance of Austro-Hungarian influence in the East." But it says that care must be taken that this annexation is not allowed to work mischief to Magyar interests, and that, therefore, Hungary, laying aside old sympathies, hatreds, and prejudices, ought to "lay hold exclusively of the organization of the new provinces by demanding that they be placed under the direct authority of the Hungarian Ministry."

The slow mobilization of the Austrian army of occupation is shown from the fact that General Szapary, after a week's respite, was for the third time attacked in position at Doboi, on Friday, the 23d, and compelled to fight for nine hours. It is clear that his retreat was caused by the superior numbers of the enemy, whom a Belgrade despatch estimates at 20,000, provided with artillery, and it is not improbable that, as is reported (also from Belgrade, however), he has been obliged to retire to the left bank of the Bosna and destroy his bridges. In the extreme south, in Herzegovina, General Jovanovitch succeeded on Wednesday week in carrying the insurgent positions before Stolatz, after a severe and obstinate contest in which most of the insurgent chiefs were killed.

There has been a good deal of curiosity in England, ever since the policy of menace against Russia was entered on, to see how the Ministry would deal with the cost—that is, in what manner they would make the bills palatable to the Jingoes. This has now been revealed by the presentation of the Supplemental Estimates to the Committee of Ways and Means by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. When he introduced the Budget in April he hoped he would have a surplus of £2,210,000 over the ordinary expenses of the year, and he did not think he would have to spend more than £1,000,000 in frightening the Russians. Instead of this, however, the process has cost him £3,306,000, and this with the amount of certain exchequer bills falling due this year will, instead of leaving him with a surplus, leave him with a deficit of £4,306,000 on the year. Instead, however, of meeting this by an increase of taxation this year, according to the uniform policy of the Liberals for forty years—a policy which Lord Beaconsfield has always strongly supported—the Chancellor proposes to distribute it over three years, and pay it out of surpluses which he thinks he will have, though he confesses he does not know what the occupation of Cyprus and the reform and defence of Asiatic Turkey are going to cost. In other words, the financial policy of the Cabinet has the same flashy character as its plans of building up influence abroad.

Nothing in the Berlin negotiations has afforded the Liberals so much ammunition as the British treatment of Greece, and Lord Beaconsfield's resentment over Mr. Gladstone's charge of having "sold the Greeks" shows that he is unusually sensitive on that point. It has been proved, in fact, that during the Congress every point made in favor of Greece was made by the French or Italian plenipotentiaries, and that they were resisted and defeated in almost every case by the representatives of Great Britain. As the Greeks allege that they were prevented from taking part in the war, and thus giving themselves the benefit of the *uti possidetis* rule which has worked so well for Montenegro and Servia, by the

persuasions, remonstrances, and above all by the promises, of the British Government, the failure of the Congress to satisfy them, followed by the flat refusal of the Turks to do even what the Congress has recommended, has naturally exasperated them in the highest degree. A Greek has therefore drawn up, and the London *Times* has published, a statement of the Greek case against England, which shows by extracts from the Blue-Book that the Greeks were kept at peace, from the outbreak of the war down to the signature of the Treaty of San Stefano, by a series of the most solemn assurances that if Greece would not move, England would use her best endeavors "to obtain for the Greeks the same advantages as might be granted to the Slavs." The letter is a most terrible indictment of the Ministry, or would be if they had not shown themselves perfectly callous to imputations on their good faith. Lord Beaconsfield, in his speeches since his return home, has ridiculed the Greeks in his lightest and best manner.

The attempt to introduce the system of caucus party management and caucus nominations into English politics, which the Radicals have begun and carried out in Birmingham and one or two other places, is exciting well-founded alarm among the moderate Liberals, and provoking resistance among many men in public life who have observed its workings in this country. Hitherto the management of party interests in English boroughs and counties has been in the hands of small, self-appointed committees, composed of persons who were willing to take a little trouble and spend a little money for the sake of the party; but the fact that they were self-appointed gave them no authority, and only as much weight as their behavior entitled them to. Their nomination of a candidate, too, was hardly a shade stronger than self-nomination, and any prominent man could well afford to disregard it and go into the contest with a committee of his own. For this has been substituted at Birmingham—and similar organizations are springing up elsewhere—a committee of six hundred, regularly elected at ward "primaries," in the manner with which city voters in America are so familiar, and this committee claims complete control of the nominations for Parliament and of the canvass. How it will all end no American needs to be told, after "the educated and intelligent" get tired of going to the primaries and the managers have grown skilful in getting up the "pre-primaries."

Mr. Chamberlain, the great Birmingham radical, writes to the London *Times*, defending the plan for the usual reasons. The primary is, of course, to be composed of wise and prudent Liberals of all classes, gentle and simple, who are to meet in the evening, and, after careful deliberation and comparison of views, are to elect patriotic and far-seeing men of the highest character to sit on the committee, and the committee thus chosen is to make nominations under a most solemn sense of responsibility. To show the absurdity of the fear that these Sanhedrims will ever come to resemble the American caucus, he says that the failure of the American caucus is due, "not to the representative system of organization," but to the fatal defect in the American practice which makes the occupant of every public office dependent for its tenure on the success of the party to which he belongs. We beg to assure him, on the other hand, that this "fatal defect" is the result or inevitable concomitant of the caucus, and we warn him that in a very few years his caucus will insist on jobbery in offices as an essential feature of really popular government. Considering what we are going through or struggling with here, the light-hearted way in which Englishmen take up some American experiments is very curious. He mentions one fact which would make John Kelly smile—that in every department of the public service, and in the municipal government also, "officers are independent of political changes, *quam diu se bene gesserint*." In illustration of this he says that, although the Birmingham voters are overwhelmingly Liberal, "a large number of the permanent officials of the corporation are Conservatives." We now tell him that fifteen or twenty years of caucus will make this seem a silly or autocratic arrangement to most active local politicians.

"ADMINISTRATION REPUBLICANS" AND CIVIL-SERVICE REFORM.

THE argument with which everybody was familiar in 1876, showing the necessity of separating the civil service, within certain easily-defined limits, from the machinery of party politics, must undoubtedly have had a great deal of force, and have made a deep impression on the public mind, or they would not have produced the insertion of the following resolutions in the platforms of the two great parties. The Democratic platform said :

"Reform is necessary in the civil service. Experience proves that efficient, economical conduct of the governmental business is not possible if its civil service be subject to change at every election : be a prize fought for at the ballot-box ; be a brief reward of party zeal, instead of posts of honor assigned for proved competency, and held for fidelity in the public employ ; that the dispensing of patronage should neither be a tax on the time of our public men nor the instrument of their ambition."

The Republican platform was on this point equally clear and emphatic. It said :

"Under the Constitution the President and the heads of departments are to make nominations for office, the Senate is to advise and consent to appointments, and the House of Representatives is to accuse and prosecute faithless officers. The best interests of the public service demand that these distinctions be respected, that Senators and Representatives who may be judges and accusers should not dictate appointments to office. The invariable rule for appointments should have reference to the honesty, fidelity, and capacity of the appointees, giving to the party in power those places where harmony and vigor of administration require its policy to be represented, but permitting all others to be filled by persons with sole reference to the efficiency of the public service and the right of the citizen to share in the honor of rendering faithful service to his country."

Now, whatever may be one's opinion about the honesty of the persons who draw political platforms, or the thoughtfulness of the conventions which adopt them, none will deny that a proposed change in the machinery of government which receives such strong and prominent commendation as is contained in the foregoing resolutions, from both political parties, on the eve of a Presidential election, must have been well discussed, and that its expediency or necessity must have been made manifest to a large and influential part of the public. That Mr. Hayes saw this was shown by the prominence he gave to civil-service reform in his letter of acceptance, and by the almost solemn manner in which he pledged himself to do what in him lay to make it "thorough, radical, and complete."

Why civil-service reform received so little attention in the canvass which followed; why so little was done either to enlighten the public about the proper mode of carrying it out or to deepen Mr. Hayes's sense of its importance, and to strengthen his purpose with regard to it, has been so often discussed that we need not go over the ground again. But it is necessary to say now, in explanation of the singular neglect into which the subject has fallen in the second year of the Administration, that the highly personal turn which the debates of the campaign took, the resolution of the contest into a comparison of the personal merits and defects of the two candidates, almost of necessity resulted in leading Republicans to consider civil-service reform personified in Mr. Hayes, and to proclaim and believe that although he had never been identified with it in any prominent or trying way his election would ensure its success beyond any manner of doubt. The regular party managers were sufficiently cowed to remain silent about it in public. But they said in private what they now begin to say openly, and what they did say openly in Grant's day, that it was a very fine thing on paper, but that no President or party could, in the existing state of human nature and of democratic government, carry it out. The best answer its friends were able to make to this was that Mr. Hayes would show them they were mistaken. In short, in one way or other, by accidents, by mistakes, by the active exertions of too simple-minded and confiding partisans, the public was led to believe that the man to conduct the great revolution in the civil service had been found at last, and that he would make short work of the argument of impracticability.

How these expectations and predictions have been falsified, everybody knows. Mr. Hayes has not reformed the civil service or done what in him lay toward reforming it. He has done something towards loosening the control of leading Republican politicians over the offices, but he has done it in such a way as to destroy the confidence of a large portion of the party in the goodness of his intentions as well as in the soundness of his judgment, and to give the broom of reform the appearance of the old and well-known party shillelah, wielded now for his personal benefit. This, however, is of comparatively small importance. The most serious evil of his course is that he has strengthened instead of weakening the argument of impracticability. He has put it in the power of the enemies of reform to say to its friends, "You see you got a man exactly to suit you, who declared himself, under his own signature, passionately in favor of your hobby. You were satisfied with him in every way ; you said he had exactly the right antecedents for the work you set before him, and that he had the needful knowledge, judgment, and firmness ; you declared, in fact, that the slightest change would spoil him. You now confess that he has made large numbers of very bad appointments and very bad dismissals ; indeed, one of your most prominent organs has declared that Tilden, bad as he is, could not have done worse. Towards thorough, radical, and complete, *i.e.*, systematic, reform, he has done nothing. If you still believe in his honesty and sagacity, does not all this prove to you that your scheme is a chimera, that it cannot be carried out, and that you have been breaking the party up for nothing, and for worse than nothing ?" This argument has, in fact, already done much execution among those supporters of reform who have never given much thought to its real nature and conditions. They have begun to say, When a man like Mr. Hayes fails, does it not show that we have been too sanguine ; that the spoils system is really after all, as "the practical men" have often told us, an integral part of republican government, which we must accept like other drawbacks and make the best of it ; and would it not be better on the whole now for Mr. Hayes to give up fighting with the politicians, and use the machine—since machine we must have—to save us from the Communists and repudiators and other enemies of order and property ?

The danger of such movements as that which has been set a-going at Saratoga to help to defeat Mr. Conkling is that it will help by its language to strengthen and perpetuate the notion that the Administration fairly represents or stands for civil-service reform, or that anything like what the Cincinnati platform promised us is still to be expected from it during its remaining two years. Everything it does in the line of those promises is, of course, deserving of hearty support, and no part of the civil-service programme is more important than the loosening of the hold of the politicians on places like the New York Custom-house. The removals which have taken place there were unquestionably justified by the position occupied towards reform by the persons removed, and the defeat of Conkling, as one of the most strenuous and open opponents of the doctrines of the Republican platform, is undoubtedly work in which every friend of reform in New York ought to engage heartily. But it is very questionable whether it can be helped by offering defences and excuses for the course the Administration has pursued with regard to the reform in general. The work is the proper work of Republicans, pure and simple, and to do it well no thorough-going defence of Mr. Hayes is needed. Nothing in particular can well be more injurious to the cause than the plea, which one now begins to hear, that Mr. Hayes has done as well as he could, and as well as any man could do in his position ; that "the pressure" of the politicians has been too strong for him. This argument was thoroughly exhausted in Grant's day. The answer to it is very simple. The President's bad appointments and violations of his own principles have not been confined to cases in which politicians have had an interest. They have been numerous in cases in which nobody had an interest but the President himself. Pending the adoption of a reformed system of appointment by law, every President must sometimes be compelled by sheer necessity to give way to party managers and con-

sult party exigencies. But there is an easy mode of making plain to the public that the fault in such cases is not his, and that is the filling of places which are notoriously within his control by men of undeniable fitness. In other words, all he has to do is to give within the narrow field reserved for his discretion a specimen of the régime which ought to be established in all branches of the public service. This would silence cavillers completely. Reformers must, in short, not forget just now, in their not unnatural or discreditable zeal for what remains of the Administration, that the battle will probably have to be fought over again in 1880 under some additional disadvantages, and that it will hardly do to come to the Convention with the Administration on their hands as a specimen of what they would like for another four years.

THE MEXICAN-BORDER GRIEVANCES.

THERE are signs at Washington, too numerous to be disregarded, though they have not yet attracted public attention, of a design on the part of a large, though very heterogeneous, body to force us into hostilities with Mexico. It is made up in the main of holders, real or alleged, of concessions of mines and railroad franchises made by extinct Mexican governments, imperial and republican; of would-be officers and contractors of a large army, regular and volunteer; of Confederate military men, now idle and poor, who would gladly march under "the old flag and an appropriation"; of Roman Catholic churchmen smarting under disestablishment and confiscation; of politicians who think a foreign war would revive business, quell the Communists, and put a stop to the "investigation" mania; and of claimants of all sorts who have failed before peaceful tribunals, and think they would have a chance of a share in the "indemnity" which would be distributed after conquest. It is, therefore, none too soon to see what there is in the outcry against Mexico that honest and intelligent men can consent to support.

The vagueness and violence of the complaints of Mexican depredations which came up from Texas induced Congress in 1872 to investigate them by a special commission, which, being unhappily composed by presidential selection, plunged into the flood of claims and brought out a report confessedly *ex parte*, and which might truthfully be described as blindly partisan. It asserted that our border had been almost stripped of stock by Mexican depredations, and furnished a list of 162 claims, in eleven Texan counties, amounting to over \$26,000,000. The largest single claim was for \$2,486,160, computed for 108,336 cattle, stolen between 1866 and November 11, 1869, at \$10, being \$1,083,360, with increase from 1869 to 1872, of equal value, and 3,328 horses at \$60, \$199,680, and increase \$119,760. Many other claims were for twenty thousand cattle, direct loss, and increase added to all. Congress did not endorse this commission by sending it back to finish its work. The report, however, caused much excitement in Mexico, and induced its Government to send a commission in 1873 to its northern frontier, which made an elaborate, able, and in many respects fair report, which, admitting that depredations had been committed, asserted that they had been from both sides of the Rio Grande. It specified a number of marauding and filibustering expeditions from our territory, and, quoting from official records, charged our Indian policy with driving into their states savage tribes which inflicted immense damage; cited the press and laws of Texas to show the prevalence of cattle-stealing and fraudulent branding there, and produced mutual accusations among the witnesses before the late United States Commission, who seemed to have afterwards united in testimony ascribing a Mexican origin to their own thefts. From the records of the State Comptroller of Texas it showed that, notwithstanding losses and changes produced by drought and the large increase of transportation of cattle and sale of hides since the opening of markets at the close of our civil war, the number of cattle in our border counties had steadily increased. Contrasting the same authority with the report of our Commission, it was made evident that twenty owners in one county pretended to have lost five times as many cattle as the whole county possessed; that thirty-three owners in

another presented claims for twice the number there, and that the claims of sixty-five out of 2,367 owners in the eleven counties were for five times the value of the stock in those counties and three-fourths of the value of stock in the whole State.

Some passages in the report will bear quoting, to show the Mexican stand-point in the controversy:

"For several months facts were invented, or those which really occurred were distorted, and when it was deemed that the public mind had been sufficiently prepared it was proclaimed that it was necessary to exact from Mexico 'compensation for the past and guarantees for the future.' The first part of this motto is synonymous with claims against the Republic; the latter part with a war of conquest on the part of the United States against Mexico. From the moment that this vast horizon was perceptible, complaints increased in their intensity: they were bitter and accompanied by all that interest or passion could add to them. . . . It is only the creation of material interests superior to those they could expect from an increase of territory that can put an end to the restless spirit of the floating population of Texas, which, in the absence of lawful resources to employ the energy of its will, is ever dreaming of revolutionary enterprises inconsistent with the maintenance of peace and harmony between the two nations. To meet this exigency a prolonged and vigorous effort is necessary. It is not a fear, but the proved existence of important facts, which impels this Commission to insist again and again upon the protection of the Rio Grande line by suitable forces. The spirit of invasion, still dominant in Texas, does not forget the tactics which secured the separation and loss of that territory."

The most important document upon the subject is the report of Mr. J. Hubley Ashton, Consul for the United States, before the late Joint Claims Commission convened under the Treaty of 1868 to settle claims arising since the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848. It shows that 1,017 claims of all kinds, aggregating over \$470,000,000, were preferred by American citizens against Mexico, of which 186 were allowed, amounting to a little over four millions, or less than one per cent. That this judicial settlement, in which Sir Edward Thornton acted as umpire, was not unfair to the claimants, may be inferred from the fact that Congress has since directed the further investigation of two of the awards, aggregating nearly twelve hundred thousand dollars, which are alleged to be fraudulent on such evidence as to warrant that unusual action. Out of the 1,017 claims, covering a period of twenty years, only twenty-five were for border depredations alleged to have been committed by Mexicans, and ten for those of Mexican Indians. Of the former class five were allowed, amounting to \$22,555, and of the latter only one, for \$622, which may well be contrasted with the twenty-six millions of depredation claims reported by the Commission of 1872, only seven out of the 162 of which arose wholly after the Treaty of 1868.

The Mexicans brought 998 claims before the Joint Commission, of which 167 were allowed—a proportion nearly equal to the allowance on the part of the United States, though the awards were much smaller: but 297 of the claims and 156 of the awards were for depredations of Americans in Mexico, the latter amounting to \$73,573, and covering damages for cases historically well known, being more than three times the damages in thirty times the cases awarded to the same class of our claims. For Indian depredations, of which their commission of 1873 complained so bitterly, Mexico presented 336 claims, amounting to over thirty-one millions, but these were all disallowed on legal grounds without decision on the facts, the United States successfully contending that by the Gadsden Treaty it was released from the obligation of protecting the frontier from our Indians, though Mexico has always argued that the Spanish copy of that treaty, which differs from the English, was not prospective. The view of Mr. Evarts was expressed in his instructions to Minister Foster on May 28, 1877, to be that, although Mexico had "released the United States from the obligations in respect to predatory incursions of Indians from this country into Mexico, the obligations of that Government in respect to similar marauders from that country into the United States are entire."

Three more documents have been published to throw light upon the extent and character of past and present depredations. It is sufficient to say of the two reports of Mr. Schleicher, of Texas, to the House of Representatives that they are intensely hostile to

Mexico in expression, and that, while they do not in terms endorse the wild claims presented by the Commission of 1872, they do not hesitate to adopt the testimony on which that report was based. The evidence furnished by the Military Committee of the House, just issued as Mis. Doc. 64, is much more important, showing the substantially concurrent statements of Generals Sherman, Sheridan, and Ord, Colonels Clitz and Shafter, with others, to the following effect: The present situation has existed in the same neighborhood before and ever since Texas was admitted, owing to the character of the population, but is not worse than a few years ago; on the contrary, it has been and is improving. Not only our Indians but our citizens commit many of the depredations on both sides of the river. Not nearly so many of our citizens are killed by the marauders from either side as on other lines of equal extent along our thinly-settled territories. The raids made into the United States are in the proportion of ten Indians to one Mexican, and the Mexicans frequently pursue on to our soil our Indians who have stolen stock on theirs. Sir Edward Thornton has well summed up the matter thus: "It does not appear as a general rule that there has been a greater want of vigilance on the part of the Mexican authorities than on the part of the authorities of the State and those of the United States." All candid examinations into the whole subject have resulted in the conviction that the raids, committed fully as much from one side as from the other, are wholly without international character, the existence of a boundary merely giving some unavoidable facilities; that the extent of the depredations at any time have been grossly exaggerated, not being greater than on other lawless and Indian frontiers and from the same causes, and that they have been gradually diminishing, so as to leave no possible moral grounds for any present aggressive policy towards our southern neighbor.

As regards the remedies hitherto provided and proposed, it must be understood that the Extradition Treaty of 1861 expressly excepted from its operations the citizens of either party committing crimes in the territory of the other; but the Mexican spirit is shown by the fact that Señor Mata, when in Washington a year ago, proposed to modify it so as to include the class of criminals who form the main part of the depredators on either side, on which proposition no action was taken by our Government. Diaz also appears to have been more liberal than the treaty by his extradition of Mexicans who were engaged in the attack on the Rio Grande City jail. Secretary Fish, in December, 1871, in answer to a request for the punishment of our citizens who committed murders in Lower California, replied: "It is a fundamental principle of the law of the United States that no person can be tried for a crime or offence in this country except in the neighborhood where the act charged may have been perpetrated. This rule, of course, applies with peculiar force to crimes committed in a foreign jurisdiction." The laws of Texas, however, so far back as 1858, provided for crimes committed beyond its jurisdiction; but those laws do not seem to have been enforced against raiders into Mexico. Lately the federal penal code of Mexico, adopted in most of its States, has contained similar provisions. The laws of Texas and Mexico both provide for the recovery of property, but it is proved that a Mexican coming to Texas with this object is met by such onerous demands for official fees as to defeat it. Difficulties also exist in the recovery of property in Mexico, not from the laws, but from the unwillingness of the officials to co-operate, though such alleged unwillingness has in fact been overcome in many instances. We have, therefore, no more claim to superior consideration in regard to legal remedies for depredations than in regard to their extent.

There remains only the use of the army as an extra-legal and extra-territorial police for the punishment of crime and recovery of property, and this remedy had, before the incoming of our present Administration, been adopted by both countries, the forces of each receiving not only admission but co-operation from the local commanders of the other, and their action having been tacitly approved by both Governments. General Ord said last December:

"The Mexican citizens on the upper part of the river in Chihuahua are quiet and peaceable and co-operate in pursuing the Indians,

so that if the Indians bring over any plunder from that side of the river to ours we are glad to have the Mexicans there come over and reclaim it. Lately, since General Trios has become governor, they followed the Indians with some eighty men and a captain appointed by General Trios, I suppose, to the mountains north of Fort Davis, killed six or seven of them, and brought back the stolen horses and three or four squaws, and they are now prepared for another pursuit. They follow the Indians regardless of trails. I gave orders two years ago that when they come over on such occasions they should be treated as if they were our own troops; and in this report [referring to the report of the Mexican Commission] the Mexican part of the Commission mention two instances, one where American officers, after the troops had crossed, asked permission to pursue savage Indians into Mexico, who had plundered in Texas, and the permission was granted; another where the Mexicans joined our forces in the pursuit, and they comment upon them as an instance of good feeling, and of a desire on both sides to co-operate against the common enemy." . . . "I gave orders nearly two years ago to cross on a fresh trail. I stated my reasons for giving the order and communicated these orders to the Administration, and I received no instructions in regard to the matter. The order was not disapproved, and consequently it was tacitly approved."

Col. Shafter's evidence was to the same effect, as follows:

"*Mr. Bragg.* Then the question is merely one of national dignity?

"*Lt.-Col. Shafter.* Yes, sir, I think that is all, and I do not think there was any feeling about it at all until the order was issued to go across; that created a considerable ill-feeling.

"*Mr. Bragg.* Was it not because it appeared to be an assumption on the part of our Government of a right which did not belong to us?

"*Lt.-Col. Shafter.* That was the claim.

"*Mr. Bragg.* So long as we were crossing tacitly and by their permission, and not under an order of our Government, they apparently acquiesced, did they not?

"*Lt.-Col. Shafter.* Yes, sir.

"*Mr. Marsh.* Has the character of your raids into Mexico been different since the order of the Secretary of War to cross?

"*Lt.-Col. Shafter.* Not at all. Our expeditions have been of the same character as before, and for the same purpose."

THE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY GREENBACKERS.

IN the prevailing discussions of the currency question frequent references have been made to, and numerous useful lessons have been drawn from, the experience of our own and other countries which have wallowed in the mire of irredeemable paper money, and have finally established themselves on the solid ground of coined money only by letting their currency "go out," to use General Butler's phrase. But through it all there has been scarcely a reference to one chapter of history that is at this particular crisis in our affairs more instructive than any or all the other passages from human experience in this matter—that is, to the provincial paper-money of the first half of the eighteenth century, which, in Massachusetts, was drawn in and burned in the year 1750.

The first paper money in New England was issued by Massachusetts in 1690 to pay the soldiers, clamorous for money, who had taken part in an unsuccessful expedition against Canada. The system upon which it was issued was not wholly bad, and for a time the depreciation was not great. But, as is almost always the case, the temptation to increase the amount was too strong to be withstood. One excuse after another served the purpose of those who asked that the amount of the circulating medium be made equal to the wants of trade, and the temptation was rarely resisted. The neighboring colonies of New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Connecticut imitated the bad example. Indeed, in some cases they seemed to have issued currency for the express purpose of circulating it in Massachusetts, which was thus flooded with the depreciated bills of credit of her sister colonies as well as those issued from her own treasury. It is not our purpose now to tell the story of the inflation, but to draw a parallel between the incidents attending resumption in colonial times and the state of affairs which we observe to-day in this country.

The tendency of the paper money was, as has been said, steadily downwards. Various devices were resorted to in order to prop it up and give it value, but they all failed. In 1745 the price had sunk to about eight for one, and in the following years it went still lower. There were a few sturdy advocates of sound money, but they could get even a hearing only by dint of persistent repetition of their argument. At last their opportunity came. The successful expedition against Louisburg in 1745, conducted by the colonists, had left the Government of Great Britain indebted

to Massachusetts in a sum which represented in a rough way the whole market value of the outstanding bills of credit. Mr. Thomas Hutchinson, then speaker of the Massachusetts House, and afterwards the governor and historian of the colony, was a hard-money man by instinct and by conviction. The idea was suggested to him of petitioning the British Parliament to reimburse the colony on condition of its using the specie to call in and extinguish the bills of credit. Accordingly he introduced in the General Court a bill providing that the money when received should be devoted to that purpose. The proposition was coldly received at first, and was rejected. Afterwards the vote was reconsidered, and the bill was passed by the casting vote of the speaker. It is a little odd that this resumption act should have been passed in 1749, as the later act of 1875 also was, by men who were opposed to resumption, and with the idea that the whole project was chimerical and could never be carried out, and that therefore the easiest way to satisfy everybody was to pass the bill. Such was the fact. Minot says in his history, after noticing the objections to the bill—which were: that the time for redeeming the bills was too short, the rate (ten for one) too high, and that silver could not be retained in the colony—

"Such were the ideas of a people used to a paper currency for more than half a century, and so firmly were they attached to it that it was owing to their fears alone that the bill for calling in the currency, which was at first lost in the House of Representatives, finally prevailed."

We have passed rapidly over the preliminary history of this currency, omitting many facts of interest, in order to come as speedily as possible to the time of redemption and resumption. The neighboring colonies had been requested to adopt a plan similar to that of Massachusetts and had refused, leaving her to carry out her policy alone. But the government did not flinch from its duty. The agent of the Province in London lost no time in pressing for a settlement, and was successful. The first and largest remittance arrived in Boston on the 18th September, 1749. Its coming was announced by the Boston *Evening Post* (so called, although it was a weekly newspaper) on the 25th of the same month, in the following terms:

"Last Monday arrived here his Majesty's ship *Mermaid*, Capt. *Montague* Commander, in about five weeks from *Portsmouth*, in which came *William Bollan*, Esq., late Agent for this Province at the Court of *Great Britain*, who has brought with him (in *Spanish Dollars* and *Copper*) the greatest part of the Money granted by Parliament for reimbursing the Province the Charge of the *Cape Breton Expedition*; and last Friday and Saturday the Money was landed on the Long Wharf, and afterwards carried to Mr. Treasurer *Foye's*, where it was decently interr'd in a Vault prepared in the Cellar for its Reception, but when the Time of its Resurge will be, Time only will discover: probably not so soon as some People may imagine. Few Tokens of Joy were shewn on its Landing: but on the contrary, an uncommon Gloominess appeared in most Countenances."

The publisher of this paper seems to have been a pronounced soft-money man, to judge from this and other expressions in the *Evening Post*. The leading article had not then been invented, and the only expressions of public opinion, except such casual ones as that in the above extract, came from contributors, often men of prominence in politics, who appended fanciful signatures to their letters. As soon as the early enforcement of the law for redeeming the notes was apprehended by the people as an impending certainty, the discontent manifested itself more decidedly than before. Just as the accumulation of coin by Secretary Sherman, making certain the attempt at resumption and increasing the chances of its success, brought into greater prominence and consolidated the strength of those who oppose specie payments, so the actual possession of coin to call in at their market value and cancel the provincial bills of credit made the paper-money party of that day more active and earnest. The newspapers were filled to overflowing with contributions to the angry discussion. Ingenuity was exhausted in the effort to invent reasons why the law should not be carried into effect. There is scarcely an argument used by the greenbackers of to-day which was not anticipated by our colonial forefathers. The *Evening Post* seems to have been the favorite medium through which the "Nationals" of that day communicated with the people. In the letters then published may be found every reason now urged against resumption. The Province was implored to wait for a more favorable opportunity. It was urged that it was not the notes themselves, but the misuse of them, that had caused the trouble. Some writers maintained that, although paper money was an evil, it could not be extinguished at once without causing disaster and ruin. The argument that the public faith was pledged to a certain course having been used with effect, the fiat-money party of that time denied indig-

nantly that the step taken was not to be retraced. Our extracts must be brief, but they show sufficiently the spirit of the discussion.

In the *Evening Post* of December 11, 1749, appears a letter from "Rusticus," dated "Up the Country in the Massachusetts," from which we take the following passage. The writer is magnifying the evil of extinguishing the Massachusetts bills while those of the neighboring colonies are still out, and urges the people to "think whether it may not be absolutely necessary for the public Good to have all our Bills that shall be brought to our Treasury to be exchang'd for *Silver* redeem'd with *Notes or Bonds* or a new Set of Bills under the Hand of our Treasurer," etc.

This writer, like some ingenious soft-money men of to-day, would not admit that he was opposed to redemption, but argued in favor of some other plan. Any way but the way that had been decided upon was apparently his motto, but his favorite scheme was a new kind of paper money: at the present juncture he would have been in favor of substituting greenbacks of full legal tender for national-bank notes.

On the 18th of December the *Evening Post* reprinted, at the request of the writer, an article which had been published in the same paper on the 29th of the preceding March, and which he evidently regarded as unanswerable. We make several short extracts from it:

"A depreciating Currency has been often branded in many of our *Pulpits*, as well as in private Conversation, as *the grand Engine of Oppression and all unrighteousness*. But these Evils, as I imagine, do not result so directly from the *Nature of the Thing* as from a *wicked Disposition* in Man to misimprove the Bills, *under the pretence of being depreciated*, as an *Instrument of Injustice and Extortion*."

The gentleman clearly regarded paper money as one of God's gifts, to be rightly used and improved, and something which it was a sin to take for less than it purported to be worth. The greenback saved the country, we are now told, and it is ingratitude to the greenback aforesaid, if not a sin against high heaven, to suspect its intrinsic equality with gold. Let us hear him further:

"As we have been *many Years* winding ourselves into this *Labyrinth* of Difficulties, by Means of a Paper Currency, it seems impossible to *extricate ourselves* in the Time and Manner propos'd: as the Paper Currency has acted a *wicked Part* on the Stage for so many Years, if it should make its *Exit* too suddenly, I fear that like *Sampson* it would kill more at its Death, than in the whole Time of its Life."

Here another argument of the paper-money party was foreshadowed. The plan proposed and adopted was too sudden in its operation: resumption ought to be gradual, etc. The writer continues:

"The other reason why the Act will probably be hurtful to the Province, is, as I apprehend, because, in our present Circumstances, it is very *unlikely*, if not *impossible*, that *Silver* can be kept as a *Medium* among us. And if not, then the good and wholsome Design of the Law will be entirely defeated: so that, having *no Medium at all*, our whole Commerce must be managed in a way of *Truck and Barter*, which (as we have found by past Experience) will be attended with far more injustice than a *Depreciated Paper Currency*."

In the above passage still another of the fears of the greenbackers is anticipated. Even if we should substitute gold for our paper, so we are told, we could not keep the gold among us. Specie payments may be resumed, but cannot be maintained, and instead of a paper or gold currency we should have none at all. But we have not come to the end of the discussion. The argument had been used by those favoring the redemption of the bills of credit that the money had been granted by Parliament for a specified purpose and had been accepted for that purpose, and consequently it would be a breach of faith to use it in any other manner or to fail to use it in that manner. To this replies a correspondent of the Boston *Gazette* in the issue of the 26th December, 1749—was his name Bland, or Butler, or Voorhees?—

"You cannot be too much on your Guard against the new-fangled Doctrine, propagated by the money'd Leaches *viz.* That the General Court cannot with Justice make any Amendment, or any Act in Addition to the Money Act: tho' of the most manifest Utility to the Province, and prevent the greatest Injury whatsoever. . . . We already feel some of the Evils dreaded by us: in the Stagnation of our Trade, little or any Business carried on with Spirit."

And the writer went on to give some reasons why the act might properly be amended. He made much of the fact that it was passed only by a casting vote, and alleged that there was an understanding that it was not to receive the royal sanction until the other colonies had taken similar action. The similarity of his reasoning to that made use of by the soft-money party now is so apparent that it is only necessary to draw attention to it.

Occasionally the anti-resumptionists dropped into poetry, as did

General Ewing in one of his speeches last winter. February 5, 1750, the *Evening Post* printed a rhymed appeal from one who dreaded the evil of forced contraction, from which we extract two stanzas :

" From the Good of a few, must the Ruin ensue,
Of Numbers industrious poor;
Amongst whom I now stand, with my Cap in my Hand,
Most humbly imploring a Cure.

" From Events I foresee, many others with me,
If the Act (as decreed) should take Place;
Must desert this great Town, or, what's worse, be weigh'd down
With Poverty, Want and Disgrace."

In the same number the publisher warns the public that the time for taking and passing the bills is expiring, and advises them rather to pay their debts to him "NOW while they may do it in *Bumaree*" (which appears to have been the current slang for the paper trash) "than to wait until the *Dollars* come out, which will be on the 1st of April next," for then they—"may find it as hard to come at the Dollars as the *Publisher*."

Well, on the 31st March the right to pass provincial bills expired, and on the following Monday, the 2d April, the new money became current. On that day the *Evening Post* appeared with this semi-humorous and semi-serious advertisement, the advertiser being Mr. Fleet, the publisher of the *Post* :

" This day is Published
And Sold by T. Fleet, at the Heart and Crown in Cornhill,
A Mournful Lamentation for the sad and deplorable Death of Mr. OLD
A TENOR, a Native of New England, who after long Confinement by a
deep and mortal Wound, which he received above twelve Months before,
expired on the 31st Day of March, 1750. He lived beloved and died
lamented. Price three half pence."

Two weeks before, this paper was advertising cheese at five shillings a pound !

The opposition to the exchange became violent when the time came for making it. The disaffection gave itself expression even in violence and riot, to such a degree that the Legislature was forced to pass a riot act. But the Government was firmly resolved to carry the measure through, and it did so. During the process money was scarce, but the inconvenience was only temporary. As for the result, let us listen to Hutchinson, the leading spirit in the business, whose history was published only fourteen years later :

" The apprehensions of a shock to trade proved groundless ; the bills being dispersed through every part of the Province, the silver took place instead of them, a good currency was insensibly substituted in the room of a bad one, and every branch of business was carried on to greater advantage than before. The other Governments, especially Connecticut and Rhode Island, who refused, upon being invited, to conform their currency to the Massachusetts, felt a shock in their trade from which they have not yet recovered. The latter had been the importers for Massachusetts of West India goods for many years, which ceased at once."

Minot reports that from a strong liking for the paper money there was a powerful reaction, and a detestation of paper money took its place. How strong it was in Boston may be judged from an incident that took place there in April, 1751. A large crowd from Abington and the neighboring towns went to Boston with riotous intentions, expecting to be joined at the capital by a large party. They were disappointed. They were met by the hoots and jeers of boys and servants, and driven out of town.

So ended the Greenback party, if we may use that term, of the eighteenth century. The organization had sprung out of a fear that vast evils would follow upon the reduction of the volume of money by ninety per cent. Their currency, which had been paper for so long a time that only the aged could remember any other, was wholly taken in and destroyed. It amounted nominally to £1,792,236 5s. 1d., and in exchange for this, which would have been an enormous amount to the colony if it had been worth its face, the meagre sum of about £180,000 in "good hard money" was put into circulation. It served the purposes of trade better than that which it displaced. The change was in no respect attended with evil results, but did accomplish much good. If the Greenbackers of 1878 would read and heed the lesson they might learn that ruin is not likely to attend the exchange of gold dollars for paper dollars at par.

COUNT FERSEN.—I.

PARIS, July 26, 1878.

BARON KLINCKOWSTRÖM is the great-nephew of the famous Count John Axel of Fersen, and he has just published two volumes of the *Diaries, Letters, and Despatches* of the chivalrous friend of Marie-Antoinette.

No documents throw more light on the last years of the reign of Louis XVI., on the beginning of the French Revolution, and on the designs of Europe when the revolutionary wars began ; but the chief interest of this work is not so much historical, after all, as it is personal and dramatic. It is well known that Fersen was handsome, that he felt a passionate and romantic attachment for Marie-Antoinette : and it is generally believed that the Queen was not insensible to it. Not that she ever confessed her weakness—her reputation is perfectly pure : notwithstanding all the libels of the revolutionary period, she carried her head to the scaffold proud, unmoved, and free of remorse. But the generosity, the devotion, the courage of Fersen had profoundly moved her, and she would have been something less or more than a woman if her heart had not clung to the friend who was ever ready to risk his life in her defence.

John Axel of Fersen belonged to the noble family of Fersen, illustrious in Sweden for two centuries. He was sent at the age of fifteen, with a governor, to foreign lands ; he studied the art of war at Brunswick, at Turin, at Strasbourg. He made his début in Paris in 1774, and was presented by the minister of Sweden to the king, to Madame Du Barry, to the Comtesse de Brienne, to the Princesse de Beauvois, etc. Comte de Creutz, the Swedish minister, wrote to the king of Sweden the 29th of May, 1774 :

" Of all the Swedes who have been here in my time Fersen has received the best reception in the great world. He has been exceedingly well treated by the royal family. It is impossible to have a wiser and more decent behavior than his. With the handsomest face and with *esprit*, it was impossible that he should not succeed ; but what recommends M. de Fersen especially to his Majesty is the fact that he thinks with a singular nobility and elevation."

There are few portraits of Fersen. A miniature painted in Paris, now in possession of Countess Louise of Gyldenstolpe (born Fersen), represents him at the age of twenty-eight : it is a face of exceeding beauty and manliness ; thoughtful, calm, firm, with a Greek regularity of features, and at the same time with a romantic expression.

Fersen remained four months only in London. He was struck by the contrast of the French and English courts. "I went to the court with Noleken. The apartments are neither large nor magnificently furnished, and nothing announces the greatness of the king. . . . When the king was dressed we entered his room, where we saw an old bed of red velvet, all black with smoke and shining with grease." . . . The king spoke low, because 'he was afraid we should hear that he put the same question to everybody' [this was in 1774]. The queen was graceful and amiable, but not handsome." The young count describes Almack's ball : "The ball begins at ten o'clock, but the men remain at their clubs till half-past eleven. Meanwhile the ladies wait, sitting in a great gallery on benches, right and left, in great ceremony ; the place seems like a church ; the ladies are all *tristes* and serious, and don't even speak to each other."

Fersen had been, you see, somewhat spoiled by French society. He returned to Sweden in 1775, and took his part in the gaieties of the court of Gustavus III., the gayest court in Europe at the time. His name appears in all the accounts (which have been preserved, but have become very rare) of the festivities of Gripsholm and of Ulriksdal. We see him back in France in 1778, this time coming to learn the art of war : he went to the camp of the Maréchal de Broglie in Normandy to follow some manoeuvre. At the beginning of 1779 the count asked permission to join the expedition of the French troops for the war of independence in North America. By the express recommendation of the king of Sweden, and thanks to the great friendship of the Comte de Vergennes for his father, he was accepted as aide-de-camp of the Comte de Vaux. He was soon afterwards attached as aide-de-camp to the Comte de Rochambeau. In the two volumes which are before me an American reader will certainly turn with the greatest interest to the letters addressed by Fersen to his father between the 2d of March, 1780, and the 10th of March, 1783. The letters are full of very curious details. The expeditionary army, which was to consist of 7,683 men, was reduced to 5,038, as there were not transports enough, and so the rest of the men were left behind. There were four general officers—the Chevalier de Chastellux, the Comte and the Baron de Viomesnil, and M. de Wickenstein, once colonel of the Anhalt regiment. The army had four months' provisions on sea and as much on land. It was escorted by seven men-of-war—the *Duc de Bourgogne*, the *Neptune*, the *Conquérant*, the *Jason*, the *Eveillé*, the *Provence*, the *Ardent*. The expedition left Brest on the 4th of May ; the landing was to take place in Chesapeake Bay, but as there was some danger of meeting the English fleet it took place on the 11th of August in Rhode Island.

Fersen writes on the 8th of September from Newport :

" We have not left our island ; we occupy in the best possible order very healthy camp, well chosen and perfectly well entrenched : we are still at work on its defences. The most rigid discipline is observed : nothing is taken from the inhabitants except with their permission and for ready money ; there has as yet not been a single complaint against the troops. This discipline is admirable ; it astonishes the inhabitants, accustomed to the pillage of the English. The greatest confidence and harmony are established between the two nations : if this were enough for the success of our expedition, we should be sure of success."

Fersen's impressions have the freshness of youth ; he admires the scenery, the climate, the manners of the people, "not yet spoiled by the luxury of Europe." It is curious to read his prophecies : "This country will be very happy if it enjoys a long peace, and if the two parties which divide it do not condemn it to the fate of Poland and so many other republics." Most of the country people are Whigs ; they are for liberty and independence. The Tories, having relations and lands in England, are for England, or rather for peace, and care little for independence.

The garrison of Newport became very despondent when it heard of the defeat of General Gates by Lord Cornwallis in South Carolina ; the French were shut up in the island and could be of no service to their allies. Rochambeau had his first interview with Washington at Hartford ; Fersen accompanied him on this occasion. He was delighted to see "this illustrious, not to say unique, man. His handsome and majestic face, at the same time sweet and honest, answers perfectly to his moral qualities ; he has the appearance of a hero ; he is very cold, speaks little, but is polite and courteous. An air of sadness overspreads his physiognomy, which suits him and makes him more interesting. His staff was larger than ours—the Marquis de Lafayette, General Knox, chief of the artillery, M. de Gouvion, a Frenchman, and six aides-de-camp. He had besides an escort of twenty-two dragoons, which was necessary as he was going through a country full of enemies."

Fersen had moments of great discouragement. There was occasionally a little coldness between Rochambeau and Washington ; the operations were too slow for his taste ; the tedium of the camp made him often unjust. At last, in June, 1781, he left Newport ; he wrote a complete account of the operations which ended in the capitulation of Lord Cornwallis. The besieging army, from his account, was composed of 8,000 Frenchmen and about as many Americans. "We took in York 7,600 men, among whom there were 2,000 sick and 400 wounded, 400 fine horses and 174 guns." After this great event Fersen went to Philadelphia through Virginia. "The Virginians are like another race; instead of superintending their farms or trading, the proprietors wish to be lords. A white man never works ; . . . there are twenty negroes at least in Virginia for one white. . . . The Virginians have aristocratic principles, and it is difficult to understand how they entered the general confederation and accepted a government based upon perfect equality." At Philadelphia there was an interview between Rochambeau and Washington, and Fersen was charged with embarking the siege artillery which had been left at West Point and bringing it to Baltimore. As he had only one ship to accompany his convoy, Fersen had to execute this operation very rapidly and very secretly.

Fersen remained after the departure of Rochambeau. He speaks very highly of this general : "He was the only man capable of commanding us here and of maintaining the perfect harmony which has reigned between two nations so different in their manners and their language, and which in their hearts do not like each other. There have never been any disputes between our two armies while we have been together, though we have had at times just complaints." M. de Rochambeau was a strong disciplinarian, and he won the just admiration of all parties. Fersen was sent to Porto-Cabello after the operations in America had come to an end. The signing of the peace with England allowed him soon afterwards to return to France. He had won his spurs in one of the most momentous and extraordinary wars of our age. He returned to France in the month of June, 1783. He was on the point of returning to Sweden in order to see his father when King Gustave III. ordered him to join him on a journey to Germany, Italy, and France. Fersen returned to Sweden towards the end of 1784 with the king. He was named colonel in the Swedish army ; the king of France named him second colonel in the Deux-Ponts Regiment (named after the Duchy of Deux-Ponts). In September, 1783, he became full proprietor of the Royal Swedish Regiment, at the request of Gustavus Adolphus, and he was also placed on the list of French pensions for the sum of 20,000 livres (this pension was reduced in 1788 and suppressed in 1791). General Washington gave Fersen the order of the Cincinnati.

Towards 1783 Fersen was paying his court to Mlle. Necker, but

young Staël of Holstein, his friend, was more successful than himself. Young Staël was minister of Sweden in Paris. Fersen wrote to his father : "M. Necker has at last taken his decision ; he gives his daughter to Staël, and I am enchanted for his sake. He had many and powerful rivals, among whom was M. Pitt, who is now at the head of affairs in England ; but the girl has preferred M. de Staël." The double service of Fersen in the French and in the Swedish army obliged him to make constant journeys. He saw in May, 1787, the closing of the Assembly of Notables. "The consequences of this assembly are great reforms in the households of the princes ; . . . Comte d'Artois has given back to the king 400,000 livres on his household : the reform in the queen's stables amounts to 100,000 écus. . . . The king has reformed his equipage for the boar, the wolf, all the falcons, all that was called the *vol*." The Assembly of Notables had greater consequences than these paltry reforms. The spirit of the Revolution was felt everywhere, and young Staël, the representative of Gustave III., was imbued with it. In the Austrian Netherlands the spirit of revolt was rife ; the Duke of Arenberg, the Catholic priests, the monks, were preaching independence. In 1787 Fersen accompanied his king to Finland in the unhappy war against Russia. Gustave III. was obliged to return to Sweden, which had been invaded by the Danes. Fersen's journal between 1780 and 1791 has unfortunately been lost. We shall next follow him with the help of his own journal and of his despatches through the revolutionary crisis of France, in which time he played a part the importance of which has not been suspected by the historian.

THE PARIS EXPOSITION.—IV.

THE STATUARY OF PAUL DUBOIS.

PARIS, August 11, 1878.

IN the middle of the Vestibule of Honor a door-way adorned with mosaic in glass, and bearing the legend *Beaux-Arts*, leads into the first of the long line of fine-art galleries. In these galleries the distinction between French and foreign is not preserved by a line drawn the length of the building ; here alone the nations succeed one another, French and all others alike, each nationality taking the whole gallery in width. And the first room, that into which one enters by the "Fine-Art" door on the great vestibule, is devoted—as are the two next succeeding long, narrow galleries side by side—to the French sculpture which has been produced since the Paris Exhibition of 1867. The space thus occupied must be about seventy-five by one hundred and fifty feet, and contains perhaps three hundred and fifty works of sculpture of good size—erect and recumbent statues, a very few groups, many busts, especially portrait-busts of life size, medallions, and statuettes. But the French sculpture is not all in these rooms ; there is some used purposely as decoration of the buildings and grounds ; some large pieces or series are put in the "loggia," or out of doors altogether, for want of room within ; then there are some which, for peculiar reasons, are connected with other exhibits ; and, finally, the small-scale works—the medals and dies, the cameos and engravings on hard stones—are in a room by themselves. The numbers in the catalogue reach 388, representing about 300 larger and independent works, and for the rest the frames of small ones. This catalogue, though it includes sculpture not in the galleries—such as has just been spoken of—does not include the statues forming part of the Palace of the Champ de Mars or of that of the Trocadéro, nor yet the new works designed for this occasion and set up around fountains, etc., nor yet (of course) the well-known statues of antique or modern design which, in bronze, cast-iron, or other material, serve as the exhibits of foundries, nor yet the wilderness of smaller bronzes which are catalogued under "Groupe III.—*Mobilier et Accessoires*," as are also the larger castings not pretending to be new and original work.

It will be interesting to attempt the comparative appreciation of this mass of sculpture found in so many different shapes and conditions ; but one thing must be kept clearly before us—the distinction between the works selected for the Exhibition by central authority, and those which have not been so selected, but come within the enclosure either as parts of the new buildings, and therefore only so far selected or approved as brief time and a vast undertaking would admit of; or else as merchandise, as works of ornamental furniture only, and therefore not receiving any critical approval at all. Among these two classes will be found very interesting works, but they have not been selected with care and comparison from the galleries of the Louvre and the Luxembourg, from the park of Compiègne and the garden of the Tuileries, from the collection of private persons or that of the Mint, as the best work of the decade,

That this selection has been made from a sufficiently large body of work is shown by the annual catalogue of the Salon. This year there are 620 numbers in the sculpture catalogue. It is safe to say that the Commission has had nearly or quite 6,000 works from among which to choose 350. A "Note" in the *Nation* some months ago called attention to the interest felt in sculpture, of late days, in Paris, to the growing tendency to throng the galleries of statuary, and to the powerful and wholesome influence over modern sculpture of the constantly increasing use of high-class works in the decoration of public buildings. It was just. The growth here of something like a true modern sculpture can hardly be denied. The work is in great quantity and its quality is the better for that. Much of the work is for public purposes, and its quality is the better for that. The most important of the work is set up in the sight of men, out of doors, or in interiors so spacious as to produce a similar effect; and the whole school is the better for that, as being made free from the wretched notion, nearly universal elsewhere, that a statue is a thing to help furnish a parlor, to be seen between the footmen in the dining-room, and to be made to vie with them in the elaboration of buttons and lace; or, at least, to please by waxy finish of flesh and minute and laborious imitation of the flow of love-locks.

If we consider only the selected and catalogued works, the general impression made by them is certainly one of strength, and of a large treatment of subject and of form. And to take, in the first place, the most marked instance of all that has been claimed for the existing French school, we have to go out of the galleries to where the marble tomb of General Juchault de Lamoricière is set up in a recess of the Rue de France. This tomb is intended to stand in the Cathedral of Nantes, in Brittany; no doubt the light of out-of-doors is more like that which it will have than would be the direct down-pour of white glare from a skylight. The architectural design is by M. Boitte, and is uncommonly pleasing: a frank bit of early Renaissance, an open temple-like structure, perhaps fifteen feet long and twelve feet high. A flat and spreading base supports a second, higher and ornamental base, the top of which is about five feet from the pavement. Upon this rest the eight square pilasters and the eight columns which support the roof, and within them the couch upon which lies the statue of the general, as if composed to quiet sleep, covered as if by a veil so thin that it takes all the form of the body and limbs, the left arm lying by the side, the right raised so that the hand supports on the breast a small crucifix. This statue, with those we have still to describe, is by M. Paul Dubois. The columns support a continuous lintel, forming the architrave, and this in turn a roof in one large slab of marble, the edges of which form the cornice. It is perhaps to be wished that it had stopped there. Above the cornice rises a little "attic" or blocking course, or parapet, richly carved, light, not too large, but somehow smacking of the Neo-Grec style one gets to hate so; a contradiction of the calm repose of the rest of the design. Four seated statues are at the four corners, each resting upon the base which supports the couch and the recumbent figure. These are to be in bronze—two of them already are so, the other two are in the plaster; the tomb is completed, except for the finishing in the permanent material of these remaining figures. The dark greenish-black bronze will go well with the white marble: that there is no fear of. But one may regret the use of polished black marble mingled, in large masses, with the white. The eight round columns have their shafts of this black marble, and, above, the architrave is broken by a black slab on each face, bearing inscriptions. It is a pity: it gives a look of mourning, of the funeral ceremony, to that which should have been only monumental, and therefore permanent: its profound blackness takes away shadow and shade from delicate bas-reliefs around; it tends to destroy, what otherwise would be so strongly marked, the look of perfect reserve and quiet beauty, most unusual in a modern work of this kind.

The four corner statues are Military Courage, Charity, Meditation, and Faith; the first and third masculine, the others feminine. Charity is indeed a group, but the babies are so subordinate that I have spoken of it, involuntarily, as a statue. The woman is of full age, not beautiful, not aristocratic in feature, the head rather small than large, and the features rather strongly marked; a woman of the people, but a noble one. The head is veiled in a kerchief, which wholly hides the hair, but leaves the face exposed. The dress is not marked, not peculiar—simple bodice, and a skirt of which the folds surprise one as being large and deep for bronze. The two children in her lap she just encloses with her careful arms so that they sha'n't fall; one has gone to sleep, and is asleep all over, with a delightful abandonment of his limbs and head to easy slumber; the other, with some action and eagerness, holds back and

away one side of the open bodice, to reach the motherly breast to which his lips are clinging. Courage is merely a warrior in military dress, holding a naked sword on which he partly leans, as the feet are drawn back and seem to take a part of his weight—as if the soldier might suddenly start up. The costume is especially noticeable here, for it is so easy to spoil your warrior by dwelling upon the details of his armor, and it is hard to say who now could dwell upon them and *not* spoil the statue, as Verrocchio could. There is no cuirass nor greaves, but a leather coat of defence, admirably treated, and military buskins, a headpiece not unlike a sixteenth-century morion, but that it is crested by a dragon instead of the ridge or blade. The idea of the armed man is perfectly preserved, while one does not take much account of the armor. That, of course, was the object in view: probably it is best so in the case of an accessory figure like this; probably even if the sculptor felt himself able to treat minute detail as freely as a master of the Renaissance, he would have preferred to avoid it here. Meditation is an aged man, beardless and nearly bald, who holds a tablet and rests his forehead upon one hand. Faith—ah! the Faith is a gem. Observe that these allegories are not so likely to be absurd when set around this tomb as when sent to an exhibition and expected to speak for themselves. Faith and Charity are more easy to recognize here than if independent and no longer the supporters of a monumental design. But still it is evident that the characters are most unusually well marked. Faith is a young girl, with clasped hands raised toward heaven: the treatment of the dress, to describe which would only weary your readers, is of admirable simplicity and freedom. And if in the other statues the artist seems to have shunned treatment of the hair, here it is treated frankly and simply; half loosening itself from its braids, it falls in a single mass on the neck and downward.

All of these statues that can be described and explained is admirable. But one is left in doubt how to speak of the purely artistic side of it, the sculpturesque treatment, the modelling. That it is not antique is plain enough; that it has not antique perfection is plain enough. But ought it to have? That wonderful beauty of gently-modulated surfaces which makes the glory of ancient work, so common in classic times and so much a part of the common stock of all workmen that a marble head of even a late period and of inferior rank can be known as an antique by its comparative perfection, is nearly unknown in modern work. Our best efforts only approach it. No one but a sculptor, and a sculptor of freedom and mind and wide training, ought to be heard in positive characterization of any work of great sculpturesque merit. But it will be safe to say that probably our sculptors will approve these works highly—that they probably come closer than any except a half-dozen modern statues to real excellence of modelling. There is a statue by the same artist in the sculpture galleries, "Ève naissante" (Ève beginning life, shall we say?), in which this excellence is peculiarly marked. It is in the plaster, as it has to be, indeed, if one would be sure of a sculptor's actual handiwork—a girl of eighteen years, standing nearly erect. The hair is brought over the shoulder to the front, and falls between the breasts, and the two raised hands caress it slightly. The face expresses merely interested attention. The feet and hands seem rather large, though it is hard to judge of the feet, as they are left rather unfinished; perhaps the arch of the foot is not so great as one expects. The sculptor seems to have been resolute to avoid the *too much* in these conventional beauties of the form. Now, all that makes this figure remarkable, beyond its simplicity, is its unsurpassed delicacy of modelling. It is in a trying place, for what light could be worse than one that streams down upon the shoulders of an erect, nude statue, lighting all parts alike with its intense glare? (When will managers learn that if top-light is best for paintings, it is *worst* for statues? Out-of-doors would be far better; side-light would be better, even if not nearly strong enough.) This delicacy of modelling on which we are insisting, what is it good for but to invest the statue with tints of shade, hardly seen, wholly indescribable, but making the difference between delicate sculpture and coarse—which is much the same thing as the difference between good sculpture and bad? But this strong top-light on a statue that stands out in the gallery directly under the skylight is destructive of much of that play of shade. It is hardly too much to say that the upper parts of the figure cannot be seen at all: uniform whiteness, equal lighting, renders the form invisible. But, in spite of this, one cannot avoid the belief that this statue is of the first ran' in modern art for truly "sculpturesque qualities."

And now, to avoid giving the fag end of a letter to other work perhaps as important as that of M. Dubois, let us name only what there is else of his work—a Narcissus in marble, in which I have not been interested,

though it is strong and good work; a portrait bust of a most eminent painter, Henner; a portrait bust of Baudry, the artist, who has done so much of the painting in the new Opera House—both of these in bronze—and two more portrait busts. All these works of sculpture are of different years. The Eve was in the Salon of 1873; the Narcissus in that of 1874, in which year the artist, who had been rewarded and *décoré* before, was made officer of the Legion of Honor; two busts were in the Salon of 1875; in 1876 were exhibited, probably in the plaster, the statues of Charity and Military Courage, which now appear in bronze and in their destined places: and in that year, besides a medal of honor, the artist received election to the Institute.

It is pleasant to enumerate these honors, as showing the recognition given to pursuits and studies which in English-speaking countries are admitted on sufferance and looked at doubtfully. In the regular line of promotion, an artist or a mere *littérateur* like Sainte-Beuve may gain a seat in the Senate. Will the Republic change all this, and give up the Senate to shrewd fellows who know how to rise to great offices by helping their friends to small ones? We shall see in the course of another ten years, and by the time the next great Paris Exhibition is held. R. S.

Correspondence.

THE LATE HENRY ARMITT BROWN.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The death of Henry Armitt Brown, which this community so deeply deplores, is really a public calamity; and even while our grief is freshest and keenest I cannot forbear from stating to the readers of the *Nation* some of the qualities which compelled us to regard him as a man who gave very great promise of future usefulness.

He was a ripe scholar, not only in the classics, in history, in philosophy and literature, but he also spoke and wrote modern languages with unusual accuracy and elegance. He possessed special aptitude for society, and was the centre of every social gathering of which he was a part, by the charm of his conversation. He was a clear and forcible writer, using his brilliant rhetoric and his admirable gift of humor only when they were aids to the enforcement of his argument. He was entitled to be called, without any exaggeration, an accomplished orator. His judgment in political matters was so excellent that he could foresee and describe many of the grave misfortunes which would follow the attempt to consider as judicial the functions of the Returning Boards of Florida and Louisiana. His sense of honor was so delicate that he forbade his friends to solicit office for him, declaring that he could not enjoy it unless it was freely conferred, upon the ground of his fitness for it.

Above and beyond all these claims to our regard, the words which Mr. Burke wrote of his dead son exactly describe him: "He was made a public creature." His guiding and controlling purpose was to try to make the government of his country purer and stronger and better in all ways than he found it. I need hardly add that he was the instinctive foe of all manner of baseness and corruption in our polities, or that he was as chivalric in uttering his convictions as he was conscientious in forming them. The simple truth is that he never had any trouble in choosing the right side of any political question, for he never regarded it as a possible aid to his own ambition, but simply in its relation to the public welfare, and the causes he championed furnish the best evidence of the manner of man he was: municipal reform, honest money, civil-service reform, revenue reform, the restoration of fraternal feelings between all sections of the country, and the use of the lessons of the Revolution for the elevation of the spirit of our public life. For these great labors he was thoroughly equipped, and to them, if he had been spared to us, he would have devoted his life.

These are the reasons why we who knew and loved him feel sure that not only this city and State but the whole country has suffered in his untimely death, for, unfortunately, those other words of Mr. Burke are also applicable: "At this exigent moment the loss of a finished man is not easily supplied."

WAYNE MACVEAGH.

PHILADELPHIA, August 28, 1878.

Notes.

S. C. GRIGGS & CO., Chicago, will publish next month a 'Waverley Dictionary,' by May Rogers, which will be welcome to a place beside the Dickens Dictionary in every well-regulated library.—As was

to be expected, Mr. Eggleston's 'Roxy,' now running through *Scribner's*, will be shortly brought out in book-form by that house.—A forthcoming privately-printed paper on "William Dawes, and his Ride with Paul Revere," by H. W. Holland, is likely to cause lively discussion among Boston antiquarians, already at loggerheads over Revere and his lantern-signals.—The early history of the Boston *Herald* is not so savory that it calls for record in book-form, and in fact the memorial volume just published by its present proprietors, apropos of their new quarters, is discreetly silent about some of the original sources of its prosperity. If something is thus lost in tracing the development of a low and scurrilous paper into a decent and able one, with a higher constituency, enough remains to make the narrative a curious and valuable contribution to the history of American journalism. A number of heliotype views show the principal offices of the new building.—Mr. F. W. Putnam, Permanent Secretary of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, has published at Salem, Mass., the Proceedings of the Nashville meeting, in August, 1877. Prof. Marsh's address on the Introduction and Succession of Vertebrate Life in America is perhaps the most striking paper in the volume.—A very full bibliography of Cyprian literature is given in the London *Bookseller* of August 6.—The teachers, principals, and head-masters of the greater London schools and universities have memorialized the English Premier to cause to be formed a Museum of Casts from the Antique, and to arrange for the delivery of lectures upon the history of Greek sculpture, to be illustrated by the collections of the British Museum. Lord Beaconsfield is favorable to the English applicants. Earl Cowper, on their behalf, affirms that £10,000 would be all the money required, and the rooms are ready at South Kensington Museum. This hint might well be acted upon by the trustees of the Metropolitan Museum with reference to the unsurpassed Cypriote collections of Gen. Cesnola, so important to the history of ancient art.

—Among the few historical works in Provençal are two rhymed accounts of the war against the Albigenses, and the war with Navarre in 1276-77. The author of the latter is Guillen Anelier of Toulouse, who by many is considered identical with the lyrical poet of the same name, of whose poems only four have come down to us. These have been edited recently with great care by Martin Gisi, under the title 'Der Troubadour Guillen Anelier von Toulouse' (Solothurn, 1877). The editor has prefixed a careful grammatical and metrical introduction, and each poem is accompanied by a German prose translation and copious notes, metrical, philological, and historical. The four poems belong to the class of *strenetes*, and in them the poet complains bitterly of the growing avarice and wickedness of the rich and noble, which he ascribes to the influence of the French and the priests. Gisi's work is a model of its kind, and will be found very useful to the student who still needs a master.—Mr. F. Gutekunst, Philadelphia, sends us an excellent photographic likeness of the late Henry Armitt Brown, of that city, whose loss in the better poetics and in literature is fitly estimated above by a correspondent.

—Mr. William Cushing's 'Index to the *North American Review*,' for the first 125 volumes, 1815-1877, has appeared, and makes a compact volume of 153 pages. It consists of two indexes, one of subjects (with the writers' names added) and the other of writers, and will, therefore, not only satisfy curiosity as to authorship, but help the student to judge of the weight to be attached to any particular review. It is needless to pick out from the long list of contributors the famous American names, famous in literature, science, and politics, which make the *Review* the most precious intellectual repertory of our nation and century. One is rather struck with the repetitions of the same name, sometimes representing several successive generations, which give us the Adamses, Allens, Danas, Everetts, Gilmans, Grays, Hales, Jameses, Nortons, Palfreys, Peabodys, Quincy, Uphams, Walkers, Wares, and Whitneys—genuine New England, and for the most part Boston, families, and again Boston Unitarian. Further, it is curious to note here and there an early essay in fields other than those in which the reviewer has distinguished himself, though it may be and is true, in some cases, that he has always maintained his interest in both. Thus, Dr. Asa Gray's first review was of Smyth on Presbyterianism and Prelacy, meet preparation for the exposure of Joseph Cook's theological recklessness; Motley began with a review of Balzac, as Professor Bowen did of Cooper's novels; Professor Felton first took up a text-book of geology; Bancroft, Schiller's minor poems; Professor Greene, Petrarch; Professor Newcomb wrote on "Our Financial Future" as naturally as of the stars. Perhaps another cause of surprise is the number of women who have enjoyed the catholic hospitality of the *Review*. We have counted twenty-one, almost all married women, and we are certain that

some who have written have effectually concealed their names from the cataloguer. Mrs. Kirkland, Mrs. Sigourney, Mrs. Ellet, Mrs. Felton, Mrs. Sparks, Mrs. Gilman, Mrs. Ware, Mrs. Dall, Mrs. Vale Smith, Mrs. Mary Lowell Putnam, Mrs. Prescott Spofford, Mrs. Fanny Kemble Butler, and Mrs. Wister are the best known of them. Mrs. Kemble's sole review, by the way, is of Victor Hugo's writings. No less than eleven critics of Longfellow's genius are enumerated under his name; Whittier counts seven: Lowell, on the other hand, pays the penalty of his editorship by having no work later than his "Fable for Critics" reviewed. Mr. Cushing justly expects his Index to be of use not only to libraries and to such as own the *Review*, but to those who can consult it as required at some public library. His work has been excellently performed, and we can suggest no improvement upon it except that a brief statement of the origin of the *Review* and its successive editors and publishers might well be appended to the preface.

—Those whom the centenary year of J. J. Rousseau has led to review the incidents of his checkered career will have smiled once more at the astronomical episode so gayly narrated in the sixth book of the 'Confessions.' One figures him seated at midnight on the garden terrace at Charmettes, in slouched hat and quilted nightgown, his face aglow from the candle sunk in an earthen jar to light up the planisphere suspended overhead on four stakes, from which the near-sighted investigator turns to sweep the heavens with his glass. To the belated peasant he naturally seems a sorcerer brewing something for the approaching "sabbath," and the rustic scandal becomes so great that friendly jesuits advise him to carry his planisphere in-doors and consult it there in future. The difficulties which Jean Jacques experienced, and which his rude contrivance was intended to overcome, has lately been ingeniously solved by another amateur star-gazer, the Rev. James Freeman Clarke, of Boston. His device consists of a semi-cylindrical lantern, in which the front consists of a sheet of ground glass illuminated by four candles inserted from behind. On one end is a convenient handle, so that, to begin with, one has a very brilliant dark lantern, which has its uses in picking one's way over the ground or in consulting a text-book in the open air. In front of the ground glass, however, is a provision for inserting opaque paper slides on which the various constellations are printed, the stars being punctured to correspond with their respective magnitudes. The observer, therefore, has only to match the miniature sky-segment of the lantern with the genuine appearance in the heavens. Of course the search can be greatly facilitated by references to the pole star or the Great Bear, and this is done in a little manual which Lockwood, Brooks & Co. publish in connection with the lantern. At the same time Mr. D. Van Nostrand has issued a planisphere called "The Star-Finder," which, having a movable horizon, can be adjusted so as to show what part of the starry firmament is visible at any given hour of any month and day. Armed with these two instruments, the youthful astronomer finds the path smoothed for him to the utmost.

—Mr. C. F. Thwing, who has distinguished himself as an industrious collector of college statistics, has in the *Sunday Afternoon* for September an article upon Religion in Colleges, founded upon his special recent enquiries upon that interesting subject. So far from being, after the common notion of them, hot-beds of infidelity, it appears that the colleges are fertile fields which yield to the laborer sixty or an hundred-fold. Naturally the larger proportion of professed Christians is in the Western colleges, where the denominational influence is nearly always strong and the libraries comparatively free from German learning and French novels; but the Eastern colleges certainly hold their own. The most remarkable statement, perhaps, is that revivals, instead of being few, are nowhere more frequent or more rich in results; but there are sufficient reasons for this. There are in nearly all colleges a number of candidates for the ministry whose well-known youthful earnestness taken in connection with the intimate companionship of the students, particularly in smaller colleges, and the strong personal friendship of individuals, forms always a ready-laid train for explosion whenever the fervid moment comes and kindles the emotional life. The weight of authority, also, represented by the professors, who are usually Christian men, is to the student's mind nearly overpowering. It is to their credit that the colleges which have been thus favored have kept the revivals so much out of public notice that the announcement of them now comes as news even to a large part of the religious press.

—“A Lawyer” writes us apropos of a recent review in the *Nation*: “You haven't said enough about Judge Smith's ‘Elements of the Laws’ yet. Fancy the consternation of the Count Johannes, of Citizen

Steinway and other eminent Americans who have been decorated with exposition medals and orders, and of the great army of Americans who have been employed and paid by foreign princes and powers or are now in foreign employment and pay, at finding themselves disfranchised, disestablished as citizens, and made incapable of holding office, by the learned author of the ‘Elements’ (*vide* page 46 of the book)."

—Lt.-Col. Garrick Mallery, U.S.A., who has elsewhere undertaken to show that the American aborigines are not red or copper-colored, and had no notion of a Great Spirit, read at Nashville last August a still more important paper on “The Former and Present Number of Our Indians.” This has been printed in the Proceedings of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, and also separately. It is an effective piece of destructive criticism, and proves the utter baselessness of the traditional estimates of the Indian population of this continent. The author depicts the natives as moving gradually from the headwaters of the Columbia and Fraser Rivers towards the Mississippi Valley and the Atlantic coast, following the lines of rivers and lakes on account of their fish, and leaving one side, for want of horses, iron tools, and fire-arms, great tracts of the highest fertility, which the imagination of the early settlers peopled as thickly as their immediate neighborhood with dusky inhabitants. When the time came for the Atlantic tribes to be pushed into the interior, not only there was room for them in abundance (sometimes not very far off), but “the same civilization that pressed the Indian race from its chosen water-courses provided the facilities for its enjoyment of land which without them was uninhabitable.” As for the wars with the whites, the state of warfare was normal to the Indians, at least to the more powerful tribes and confederacies, and if diminution is traceable to this cause, the whites have perhaps not very much on their conscience. Extermination was too often inferred from change of locality; and again, while on the one hand the multiplication of names for the same tribe enormously swelled the estimates of Indian strength, on the other the disappearance of the name was taken to mean extinction of the tribe. The contagious diseases of the whites have, Mr. Mallery thinks, destroyed more tribes by dispersion and absorption than by actual deaths, and he makes the noteworthy statement that the small-pox “has ceased to be a scourge to the tribes, the reports of fifty-six Agents in the years 1874, 1875, and 1876 not including any fatal case.” The most striking example of over-estimate given by Mr. Mallery is that in regard to the Indians of Alaska, who even in the census of 1870 were set down by the Superintendent at about 70,000. Mr. Dall has lately carefully reckoned them for the same date at 25,704. “If such a change,” says our author, “had been made after the Alaskans had been under an Agency, it would have been attributed either to fraud in the first enumeration for the purpose of swelling the ration return, or to the fated sudden mortality of all tribes connected with whites.” Mr. Mallery’s conclusion that the Indians are more numerous than they were when the country was first settled, and are increasing against all odds, has a practical bearing; for there can be no question that the popular notion that the Indians were passing away has at once encouraged the vile to speed their going, and deterred the good as if from a struggle against destiny.

—Those who remember or are interested in the French stage at the time when the elder Dumas was at the height of his fecundity as a dramatist, will recall the name of M. Hippolyte Hostein, who was the manager of the Théâtre-Historique which the author of ‘Monte Christo’ created for the performance of his own plays. For twenty years M. Hostein, who began as a medical student and as the author of medical monographs and children’s books, was one of the leading managers of Paris; in 1868 he failed: at the opening of the Suez Canal he was appointed director of the Egyptian theatres; now he is back in Paris as a dramatic critic. The result of his varied experience is in part given in the volume of ‘Histoires et Souvenirs d’un Homme de Théâtre’ which he has recently published. It is a rather heterogeneous gathering, as such reminiscences are likely to be; but many of its anecdotes are fresh and amusing. It is curious, for instance, to be told that M. Fechter applied for an engagement at the Comédie-Française, which he failed to obtain because of his marked English accent. Perhaps the most interesting anecdote is one of Balzac, more characteristic than most of those which cluster around his name. Balzac, who always had a desire for success as a dramatist, was in 1847 a neighbor of M. Hostein. He paid him a visit one day, declaring his intention of writing a grand historical drama for the Théâtre-Historique—if Dumas made no opposition. Reassured by M. Hostein on this point, Balzac announced his subject, “Peter the Great and Catherine of Russia.” The first act was already written—in his head—and M. Hostein prints for us Balzac’s description of this first act,

a really suggestive introduction to the subject. The novelist left the manager in a great enthusiasm and building high hopes on the play. When next M. Hostein saw him he had given up the idea, at least temporarily, as it was too important to treat without full preliminary study. In place of it he offered another play, a parlor comedy so to speak, with a quiet whist party and family chat, from the heart of which presently was to spring an overpowering passion working itself up to a terrible climax. And then Balzac told how he had had the first hint of the situation, and M. Hostein's story deserves notice by all students of Balzac, for it is as characteristic as may be. This domestic tragedy he finally finished and read to M. Hostein and to Mme. Dorval, who was to play the leading part. When the actress heard the title, "Gertrude," she ventured a remark which Balzac checked at once. At the end of the second act, so long was the play, an adjournment was had to the next day. When the culminating scene was described, not shown, Mme. Dorval moved impatiently. Balzac glanced at her and said, "I understand," and then read to the end, when, without a pause, he said: "Too long; a quarter of the piece to be cut; a description to be changed into action." "And a title to be changed," added Mme. Dorval. The title was changed to "La Marâtre," and the play was a success.

BEESLY'S CATILINE.*

PROF. BEESLY has done well to republish these striking articles, which originally appeared in the *Fortnightly Review*, in the years from 1865 to 1869. They are five in number, two being devoted to Tiberius, two to Catiline and Clodius, and a fifth to Necker and Calonne. They belong to that class of writings which aim to reverse the popular judgment as to historical characters. Mr. Beesly undertakes to show that the three men whose names stand on his title-page have been deeply wronged by writers of a "literary class"—which class he holds in deep contempt (as if he himself did not belong to it); and he maintains, not by any means that they were estimable men, but that they were not so black as they have been painted, and that they were the victims of oligarchical conspiracy and misrepresentation.

These opinions are presented with great vivacity and incisiveness, and supported by ingenious and scholarly arguments. The criticism upon the senatorial leaders, and upon the statements of former writers, is always keen and instructive, although we cannot always accept the views that the author presents in the place of theirs. To tell the truth, he always appears as a theorist, as the champion of a foregone conclusion; he is no more an impartial seeker for truth than his opponents, but the representative of a school for whose doctrines he is determined to find support in the career of these men. The key to his theory is stated on page 83, "that the proletarian class has naturally a breadth of view which education, unless positive in its spirit, only tends to impair." Not many American democrats, we fancy, would advance so thorough democratic doctrine as this of the English positivist, and we must wish that he had explained himself a little more fully. What does he mean by *proletarian*? We heartily accept the doctrine that the *laboring* class—meaning by this the honest, intelligent, hard-working farmers and mechanics of any healthy condition of society—do possess a certain breadth of view which lends them a soundness of judgment upon great general movements in politics. Universal suffrage, for such a class, is a safe method to determine which of two great parties or of two well-known leaders is fittest to be trusted with the destinies of a nation. The mistake of our radical democracy has been precisely in ascribing these same qualifications to the *prolétariat*—that is, the class which is unable or unwilling to engage in regular industry. Prof. Beesly's fellow-positivist, Mr. Frederic Garrison, has lately given us, in the *Fortnightly Review*, some interesting illustrations of the political sense in the French working class; and it was this same class in this country, without much argument, but by strong moral sense and common sense, that carried us triumphantly to the abolition of slavery. But this is no *prolétariat*, in any accepted sense of the word; nor was the Roman plebs in the time of Cicero, whether we call it a *prolétariat* or not, a class that lived by honest industry. As Prof. von Treitschke says, it was at bottom because industry had no honor in the ancient world that the classic nations possessed no permanent vitality, and classic civilization came to an end. There is no parallel between the cases.

In his rehabilitation of Tiberius Prof. Beesly is not alone, although he was one of the earliest to advance this view. His arguments as to Cat-

line and Clodius are able, even brilliant, and well worth study. Every student of Cicero's orations ought to read his remarks carefully; but, after all, we cannot say that he has made out his point. Bad as the Roman Senate was, the Roman plebs was still worse. Nor is our author always accurate on points of detail. He tells us (p. 45) that the Senate proceeded "to depose Metellus from the tribunate and Caesar from the praetorship—an assumption of power utterly unknown to the constitution." But the words of Suetonius (*Julius*, 16) are "administratio . . . summoverentur," which certainly mean only that they were suspended from the exercise of their functions—not so very great a stretch of the rather indefinite powers of the Roman Senate—and the action was afterwards reversed. Again (p. 49), he says that the Senate resolved "that no public business should be transacted till it [the law for the trial of Clodius] was carried." Now, Cicero's words (*Ep. ad Att.*, i. 14, 5) are *ante quam rogatio lata esset*; and surely Mr. Beesly knows that *ferre legem* is not to "carry a law." The law had not been defeated, but the voting interrupted—*comitia dimittuntur*—and the Senate appears to have determined now that this proposition should take precedence of every other business.

In the discussion of the trial of Clodius Professor Beesly makes some very good points, and shows up thoroughly the inaccuracy and confusedness of Mr. Forsyth's account. We believe, for instance, that he is the first person who has pointed out (page 51) that the senatorial plan for the establishment of a *Quæstio* for this trial was to be voted on by the centuries rather than the tribes; but we do not think this fact has the importance he attributes to it. He holds that the object of the Senate was to establish a tribunal which could sentence to death; for "all these *Quæstiones perpetuae* had been appointed by the people assembled in *comitia tributa*, and being regarded as mere committees of that assembly, they could not inflict capital punishment." But in this Mr. Beesly is mistaken. It is true the first *quæstio perpetua*, organized by the Calpurnian Law, B.C. 149, was established by the *comitia tributa*; but Sulla reorganized the whole system, remodelling the old courts and organizing new, and this he did as dictator, and of course through the *comitia centuriata*—for the dictator could not preside in the *comitia tributa* any more than the consul. The special *quæstio* for the trial of Clodius would, therefore, by the senatorial plan, have rested upon precisely the same authority as the *questiones perpetuae*; and it is a sheer assumption of Mr. Beesly's that the Senate wished to inflict the punishment of death. Nor is it at all probable; for it would seem quite certain that this was a power of the centuriate *comitia* which could not be delegated (see Mommsen's History, vol. iii. p. 140); at any rate, it never was delegated. The Sempronian Law was intended absolutely to forbid putting a Roman citizen to death; and if the Senate wished to inflict this punishment, it could not make use of any regular process of law—it must have recourse to illegal or extra-legal methods, as in the case of Catiline's fellow-conspirators.

Again (page 45), Prof. Beesly makes a good deal of the point that the affair of the mysteries of Bona Dea, for which Clodius was tried, was an old story trumped up for the occasion; for the festival of Bona Dea, he argues, was May 1, while the events just discussed took place in January and February, B.C. 61. Now, it is true the *festival of Bona Dea* was May 1, but it does not follow that her *mysteries* were on the same date. It was not uncommon for the same deity to have more than one sacred day: the *Consualia*, for example, were August 21, while the sacrifice to *Consus in Aventino* was December 12. And he has overlooked the fact that according to Plutarch (*Cic.*, 19) Cicero, after his third speech against Catiline (December 3), went to the house of a friend because his own house was in the hands of the women who were engaged in celebrating the rites of the Good Goddess. Thus the two principal points of Mr. Beesly's indictment of the Senate in the case of Clodius—that they hunted up an old and almost forgotten offence for political ends, and that they attempted, by an extraordinary process, to inflict the punishment of death upon him—fall to the ground. That the trial of Clodius was not a piece of political persecution we do not undertake to say: at any rate, the Senate has a right, as well as Catiline and Clodius themselves, to have no villainy charged against it which cannot be proved.

The New Paul and Virginia. By W. H. Mallock. (New York: Scribner & Welford. 1878.)—"Positivism on an Island" pays the penalty of popularity by thus appearing in book-form. It was pre-eminently a *jeu d'esprit* that should have been allowed only the sparkle of a momentary existence. At first glance it seemed of doubtful value, and second thought is fatal to it. It has been so widely read that it is almost superfluous to say that it represents a materialistic professor and the

* "Catiline, Clodius, and Tiberius." By Edward Spencer Beesly, Professor of History in University College, London. London: Chapman & Hall. 1878. 8vo, pp. 169.

wife of an English clergyman, who seems to have led a loose life in her youth, cast upon an island where are all modern conveniences and luxuries in the shape of a house, rich furniture, delicate food and wine and the like. Here the pair, amid various interruptions, live upon such principles as Mr. Mallock appears to think are held by the scientific men of the day. But the gospel of exact thought, like all other religious speculation, lends itself with great facility to misconception, and hence to meaningless parody. Mr. Mallock has written a satire of words and not of things. True, he has added in an appendix justificatory extracts from Tyndall, Huxley, Frederic Harrison, and Miss Martineau; but the modern theory of the duties and capabilities of life, like every fragmentary and undeveloped system, has its extravagances and trivialities, due to individual champions, which, nevertheless, are mere excrescences, having no place in the heart of the matter. Mr. Mallock has seized upon these and burlesqued them without difficulty. Even when he does touch a doctrine with his wit, he is unfair. Impersonal immortality has little consolation for a bereaved mind, but it has some value. Mr. Mallock makes it the ground of one of what are thought his brightest hits, and shows a poor drowned wretch still living in the chocolate creams which his death has consigned to the palates of Paul and Virginia. It is very funny in its way, and one is disposed to laugh at this sort of immortality, unless by chance the remembered lines of Tennyson recall him to a truer feeling :

" Whatever way my days decline,
I feel and feel, though left alone,
His being working in my own.
The foot-steps of his life in mine :

" And so my passion hath not swerved
To works of weakness, but I find
An Image comforting the mind,
And in my grief a strength reserved

Satire should paint its prey as it is, and at the best that it is, to be effective. Satire like this of Mr. Mallock tends only to harden prejudice, impede toleration, and is besides a misrepresentation, perhaps unconscious but none the less to be condemned. The impression deepens in the mind that Mr. Mallock is not unlike the evangelical preacher ridiculing Popish mummeries of whose meaning he is ignorant—not unlike Diderot, whose wit played coarsely round the Immaculate Conception ; in other words, that his satire has no sting of truth, because he himself has no perception of the real significance of the doctrine he satirizes. Beneath the cleverness lies the hard Philistine rock, blind, impervious, barren.

Railroads : Their Origin and Problems. By Charles Francis Adams, Jr. (New York : G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1878.)—The topics of this timely work are presented in the clear style and forcible manner characteristic of the author. The picturesque history of pioneer railway achievements, and of the fresh and deep impressions made upon the first witnesses of the new marvels, form an admirable prelude to the author's able discussion of existing railway phases. The strong faith in the perennial and absolute beneficence of railway effects which inspired the strenuous labors of projectors in the beginning, is in vivid contrast with the multitudinous social and commercial evils since begotten by the system, and so clearly portrayed in the closing portion of the work.

Each new radical advance in human accomplishment has, *pari passu* with its good results, always generated new, peculiar, and unforeseen troubles. Railways, from the magnitude and minuteness of their scope, create, and must create, unusual disturbances, until better understood and more wisely regulated. The first step toward curing railway defects is to gain a clear perception of their characteristics and causes. Mr. Adams has given us the fullest picture of both yet written, and in a form strikingly dramatic and impressive, though he has omitted all reference to some vicious features, and notably to the employment of powerful shippers as "eveners" or dividers of competitive traffic. Modes of suppressing social defects are necessarily experimental ; our ignorance can find no better guides than tests and blunders. By learning what to avoid we finally stumble upon what to do. One of the most valuable portions of this work, therefore, is the history and description of the remedial methods which have been and are being tried at home and abroad.

We cannot wholly follow Mr. Adams in some of his points. It is true railways can never be highways to the same extent that ordinary roads are, but they can be made highways in a lesser degree. They can be open for use by any suitable cars, at rates reasonably less than are currently charged in their own cars. Again, the competitive principle, which as partially applied has worked such grievous harm, would be more effec-

tive for good if compelled to an impartial and general application among shippers and localities, and this fact Mr. Adams inferentially recognizes. In all countries, even in this, some degree of railway regulation is practised. In the United States much of the best work of this sort in certain directions has been done through the courts : and the various decisions reached in the various tribunals form a body of rules which govern and are enforced. The chief present question is, how far this code from the bench can be profitably enlarged by statute, and how infringements can be promptly detected and swiftly and certainly punished. The cautious manner in which legislation is recommended shows the prudent spirit with which Mr. Adams approaches the whole subject.

While combination is inevitable now, it has been seldom resorted to except as a protection against existing or threatened destructive competition. If by general regulation the need of such protection could be lessened, combination would mainly cease. When carried beyond aggregations of reasonable size it undoubtedly produces serious evils, though not of the class most dreaded by the public. Quasi-monopoly with reasonable governmental regulation seems to be the direction in which Mr. Adams would search for remedies. We believe he is right : but no attempt to limit the free construction of new roads should be made a part of any programme. He very properly urges as the prime element in any legislation the presence of executive force. There must be also a body to investigate and publish. It need not be the enforcing power, but behind it must rest somewhere—in courts, the executive, or the public—the will and the ability to abate all features which prove to be common nuisances. Perhaps potential a medicine as can be easily applied is constant publicity in tariffs. Secret rates breed more official corruption, work more commercial injustice, and tend more rapidly to the ruin of the unsuspecting and usually ignorant and trusting railway owner, than any other feature of the system now extant.

In seeking cures it will not be well to make haste too slowly. Boldness as well as caution should rule in making tests. Consideration is necessary, but so is energy, and some risk of mistakes must be taken. It is almost essential to discover *soon* better means for enforcing upon railway managers a closer adherence to justice in the performance of their public functions, and a wiser administration of the property entrusted to their management, as competent experts, by owners, who, for lack of trained capacity, are committed perforce to a blind and uncriticising confidence in their selected servants.

Mr. Adams has done an important public service in writing this book. It will command the thoughtful consideration of the better class of professional transporters, and cannot fail to attract and enlighten a large portion of unprofessional but interested people.

The Cossacks : A Tale of the Caucasus in 1852. By Count Leo Tolstoy. Translated from the Russian by Eugene Schuyler. (New York : Charles Scribner's Sons. 1878.)—Mr. Schuyler in introducing Count Tolstoy to the American public gives him a warm recommendation. He is, says his translator, now, perhaps, the most popular novelist in Russia, and, "after Turguenief, he is incontestably the best." Turgeneff himself is also quoted as declaring to Mr. Schuyler that he considered "The Cossacks" "the finest and most perfect production of Russian literature." An introduction of this sort is apt to be a little dangerous, as it has a tendency to arouse the mind of the reader to an attitude of critical revolt. He prefers to find out an author's qualities for himself rather than to have himself forced into admiration by the weight of authority. Of course, with the judicial mind of the critic, no considerations of this sort can count for an instant, and we have read the "Cossacks" without allowing Count Tolstoy's reputation to prejudice us in the least against him. The story is a very simple one. A young Russian noble, who has led a life of pleasure in Moscow, resolves to turn over a new leaf, and leaves home to join a regiment in the Caucasus. There he falls in love with a beautiful Cossack girl, to whom he proposes marriage. She is in love with a young Cossack, but apparently listens with favor to Olenin's suit, until at the critical moment the Cossack lover is killed or mortally wounded, when her old love revives and she sends Olenin off. So the story ends, if story it can be called, which is far more a collection of national types than a novel. Its strength consists mainly in the vigor and nicety with which the characters are drawn. The types are entirely foreign to our experience, and it is a strong proof of the author's ability that they should seem at all true to nature. Russian types, as those who are familiar with Turgeneff's novels know, have always a something in them that is grotesque to our eyes. Olenin, for instance, is a young man full of the ardor and impetuosity of youth, who

is longing to find some career for himself, and at the time he falls in love with the heroine thinks he has found one in what is known as "altruism." Yet he is represented at the outset as having "neither family nor country, nor faith nor wants. He believed in nothing and admitted nothing. But, though admitting nothing, he was not only not a sad, bored, and argumentative youth, but, on the contrary, constantly amused himself. He had decided that there was no such thing as love; and yet the presence of a young and pretty woman always gave him a sort of shiver. He had known for a long time that honors and titles were all folly; but he felt an involuntary satisfaction if, at a ball, Prince Serge walked up to him and made some complimentary remarks." This union of a fashionable, philosophical negation with a keen, practical zest for life and its pleasures is continually making its appearance in Russian stories. But Count Tolstoy is just as much at home in the Caucasus as in Moscow, and the semi-barbarous Cossack is drawn with the same skill that marks the picture of the civilized Muscovite. The heroine, gravely (and perhaps stupidly) beautiful, the boastful Eroshka, and the heroine's native lover, are all drawn with great vividness. The descriptions of the scenery and daily life of the frontier are good. But it seems to us that any comparison with Turgeneff, judging at least from this story, rather puts the author at a disadvantage. There is in Turgeneff a wonderful dramatic power which is altogether absent in 'The Cossacks.' Turgeneff's characters are not merely types, they are individuals playing a part in the story, and indissolubly bound together into one dramatic whole. The plot is determined, to a great extent, by the development of character, so that you can hardly say at the end how, with the *dramatis personae*, it could have been different. No such connection between characters and plot exists in 'The Cossacks.' The characters are all life-like and real, but their destiny seems strictly controlled by the author. Consequently, although as a description of a certain sort of Russian life the story is valuable, it does not, as fiction, seem to us to be of great interest.

Homer. By the Rt. Hon. W. E. Gladstone. (New York : D. Appleton & Co. 1878.)—What is needed in a primer of Homer or Shakspere or Dante is such comment as would naturally accompany a *viva-voce* translation or reading to persons who are wholly ignorant of the poets, such an elucidation of framework, characters, spirit, and the times as is essentially necessary to a real understanding of the poetry or greatly facilitates the study of it. Mr. Gladstone's 'Homer' is in many respects a model of such work. It is unencumbered with superfluous learning; it is not, like Professor Jebbi's 'Primer of Greek Literature,' a shorter dictionary. The special theories of the author in regard to the analogy of Zeus, Athene, and Apollo to the Hebrew mythology are kept in the background; the whole effort is concentrated towards giving a notion of what place Homer, as a living poem, occupied in the Greek mind. In reading the short paragraphs one gets a sense that Homer was really an influence in Greek life such that there is a fitness in calling his poems the Bible of the Greeks; one comes to see along what lines of patriotic feeling, of national and local pride, of moral sentiment that influence pulsed; one perceives how the Greek conception of the actual ends and means of practical living is mirrored in these poems, and although there is as yet but little reflection upon the facts of life, it is not too much to say that a thoughtful reader, with some previous direct acquaintance with Greek, can see in this narrative of Homer the prophecy of Plato—a fact that indicates the historic value of the book, which is, of course, only incidental to its scope. There are, besides, accounts of the geography, cosmology, ethnology, and like matters, which serve as an introduction to the exhibition of the poet's work as a product of Greek experience and imagination; but these portions are technical and not difficult. The presentation of the Greek spirit and

method in life is a rarer thing, and it is for this that the primer is valuable. Whether Homer is the name of a person or is a myth, whether he was born in Samos or Chios, whether he placed the Kimmerian land here or there, are for the purposes of this book questions of comparatively little interest; but to give the youth, who each year open Homer afresh, some notion of him beyond battlefield and dictionary, to show him as the beginning of a literature which never rivalled its founder, as the teacher of ideal living in manly and womanly ways who has never been surpassed by later observers, is a work which much needed to be done, and this little volume comes the nearest to accomplishing it of anything that we have seen. It is accurate in its portraiture, clear and simple in its lines of thought, and full of suggestions which an active mind, interested in intellectual and literary things, will follow out for itself.

Physiography. An Introduction to the Study of Nature. By T. H. Huxley, F.R.S. With Illustrations and Colored Plates. Second Edition. (New York : D. Appleton & Co. 1878. 12mo, pp. xx. 384.)—The lectures which gave rise to this compact volume were delivered ten years ago to young people in London. Every one must regret that so long an interval has elapsed before the rare privilege of sitting under Professor Huxley's teachings could be shared by all English-reading children. The author's aim was to show the connection between the local natural phenomena and the universal, and for his audience he chose the Thames valley as the starting-point. The discourse begins with the physical conformation of the valley, and then passes to springs, rain and dew, snow and ice, evaporation, the atmosphere, etc., etc., and ends with the figure of the earth and map-making, the earth's movements, and the sun. The chapters whose titles we have not quoted deal with the tearing down and the building up of the solid land, with fluvial erosion and glaciers and the wear and tear caused by the sea, with earthquakes and volcanoes, peat-bogs and coal-mines, corals and foraminifera, the distribution of land and water, and so much else incidentally that a thorough study of this volume is worth more than all the ordinary school and many of the college courses in geology, biology, and physical geography. The model is so good, indeed, that it ought to be copied in its method by all teachers; and since text-books are a necessity in default of teachers worthy of the name, the best compliment that could be paid to Professor Huxley would be the production, in this country, of State or sectional treatises for use in the schools, substituting for the Thames the Connecticut, the Hudson, the Delaware, etc., or even smaller streams, and for the rest following the line laid down in 'Physiography,' without a slavish adherence to its language.

In working over these lectures the scientific progress of a decade has not been neglected, but changes still remain to be made wherever human knowledge is probably or confessedly incomplete. It is, for instance, no longer true, as stated with due caution on p. 87, that "oxygen and nitrogen are examples of gases which are not known in any other than the gaseous condition."

Authors.—Titles.	BOOKS OF THE WEEK.	Publishers.—Prices.
Avery (E. M.), Elements of Natural Philosophy		(Sheldon & Co.)
Byrne's Timber and Log Cook; Ready Reckoner, etc.		(American News Co.) 40 35
Dickinson (W.), Glossary of Words in the Cumberland Dialect, swd.		(Trübner & Co.)
Duncan (Dr. T. C.), How to be Plump.		(uncan Bros.)
Encyclopaedia Britannica 9th ed., Vol. VIII, Ele-Fak		(Little, Brown & Co.)
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8